The Anthropomorphic Lens

Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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The Anthropomorphic Lens

Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts

Edited by

Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans

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Introduction

Michel Weemans and Bertrand Prévost

Anthropomorphism—the projection of the human form onto aspects of the world—closely relates to early modern notions of analogy and microcosm. Both notions existed in Antiquity, but they came to be more closely associated during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, even as they changed in major ways. What had been construed as a ready metaphor for the order of creation was reworked into a complex system relating the human body to the body of the world. In the process, numerous books and images—cosmological diagrams, illustrated treatises on botany and zoology, maps, collections of ornaments, architectural essays, allegorical paintings and prints—were based on anthropomorphic analogy. The result was the spread not only of anthropomorphic expression but of a fundamentally anthropomorphic way of thinking.

But what does that way of thinking entail? What, for instance, does paralleling of the human body with all manner of things—concepts, mental states, inanimate objects, spatial relationships, and so forth—tell us about conceptions of figuration? What, that is, does anthropomorphism tell us about the ethical, intellectual, and religious implications of representation? On a related note, how did verbal and visual forms of anthropomorphism relate to one another? To what extent did they interact, to what extent did they reinforce one another, and to what extent did they conflict with one another or deviate? And finally, how are we to disentangle the various operations being performed by early modern anthropomorphic analogy? What kinds of meaning did such analogy enable, and what conceptions of meaning did it allow?

At heart, such questions derive from a basic tension inherent in the anthropomorphic model, a tension—present throughout the long early modern period—between the magical and the rational, the speculative and the practical, the literal and the metaphorical. After all, to publish a map of a continent produces one kind of knowledge; to anthropomorphize that map, e.g., by overlaying a human figure upon it, produces an entirely different sort of knowledge. And yet, it must be recognized that such forms of knowledge coexisted remarkably closely—indeed, were often inextricable, even interdependent—between roughly 1400 and 1700. To talk of the history of

anthropomorphism is thus to talk not only of figuration but also of the production of knowledge itself.

Such matters were of obvious interest to Enlightenment thinkers, and it is no coincidence that the term 'anthropomorphism' appears in the eighteenth century to designate, in a negative way, the attribution of human form to God.[1] Of greatest concern was the potential for confusion of categories. (On this point it is worth noting that all the other terms which precede 'anthropomorphism' similarly tend to criticize redescriptions of the divine in human terms.) Consider, for instance, *anthropopathy*, the attribution to God of human feelings, and *anthropology*, which previously had indicated, according to the definition of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), '[...] how sacred authors attribute to God parts, actions, or conditions suited only to men, and that to accommodate and be proportional to the weakness of our intelligence'.[2] Or *anthropomorphites*, which designated a sect whose heresy consisted of interpreting literally all the passages in the Bible that assign a human body to God. Moreover, this critique of anthropomorphism, at least in its theological form, was not unknown to the ancients. It first appears in a passage of Xenophanes, who observes that, '[...]

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1   See Formey, J. S., "Anthropologie", in Diderot D.—D'alembert J., *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, Briasson: 1751) 497: '[...] maniere de s'exprimer, par laquelle les écrivains sacrés attribuent à Dieu des parties, des actions ou des affections qui ne conviennent qu'aux hommes, & cela pour s'accommoder & se proportionner à la foiblesse de notre intelligence [...]'. On the etymology of the term see Armangaud F., "Anthropomorphisme", *Encyclopedia Universalis* (Paris: 1970) 280–284.

On the idea of anthropomorphism in general as universal and innate, see Guthrie S., *Faces in the Clouds: A New Theory of Religion* (New York: 1993). On anthropomorphism as natural and intuitive or as cognitive and counter-intuitive, see Mithen S., *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science* (London: 1996); Boyer P., "What Makes Anthropomorphism Natural: Intuitive Ontology and Cultural Representations", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (1996) 83–97.

On contemporary viability of anthropomorphism, see Vidal D., "Anthropomorphism or Sub-anthropomorphism? An Anthropological Approach to Gods and Robots", *Journal of the Royal and Anthropological Institute* 13 (2007) 919–933, with bibiliography. See also the essays by King E., Bernstein J. M., Dean C., Van Eck C., Flood F. B., Gamboni D., Garnett J., Rosser G., Meyer J., Mizuta M. E., and Payne A., in "Notes from the Field: Anthropomorphism", *The Art Bulletin* 94 (2012) 10–31.

2   Refering to Malebranche: 'Now since Scripture is made for everyone, for the simple as well as for the learned, it is full of anthropologies. Not only does it give to God a body, a throne, a chariot, a retinue, the passions of joy, of sadness, of anger, of remorse, and the other movements of the soul: it also attributes to him ways of acting which are ordinary in men, in order to speak to the simple in a more sensible way'. Malebranche, *Treatise on Nature and Grace*, trans. P. Riley (Oxford: 1992) 136.

if oxen and horses and lions had hands and were able to draw with their hands and do the same things as men, horses would draw the shapes of gods to look like horses and oxen to look like oxen, and each would make the gods' bodies have the same shape as they themselves had'.[3] He thus offers an early example of what would later become a recurring irony directed at Christianity: inverting the narrative of Genesis by asserting that man created God in his image.

As important—if not inherent—as the religious dimension of anthropomorphism is, though, we should not omit an essential point. Above all, we must take note of a genuine and visceral critique of anthropomorphism at the heart of Christianity. Or, rather, we must consider the kind of reverse anthropomorphism which also finds a place in that tradition, since the issue of the human form—the image—at the heart of Christian anthropology stems from a narrative of lost likeness, the story of a debased image. The essence of the matter in the eyes of early modern Christians, strictly speaking, was not so much the human element (obviously Christianity is anthropocentric) as the formal or morphological element: humanity shall recover its form, the divine image, only by losing its too-human form, by deforming—and thus reforming—itself. This latter scenario therefore constitutes a strange anthropomorphism,[4] proceeding by an inverted or negative likeness of the human form.[5]

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3 Xénophanes of Colophon, fragment 7.7, in McKirahan R. (ed.), *Philosophy Before Socrates: An Introduction with Texts and Commentary* (Indianapolis: 1994) 60.

4 Or perhaps even a kind of 'de-anthropomorphosis'. On this idea, see Bret Rothstein's essay in this volume.

5 See Javelet R., *Image et ressemblance au XIIᵉ siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1967).

We find such a conception in the work of Georges Didi-Huberman, who considers a newer mode of anthropomorphosis that might be called abstract: for instance, in front of Tony Smith's famous minimalist cube (*Die*), one looks for a *human* depth—both as a matter of anthropology, now in the modern sense of the word, and morphology—although the object itself in no way recalls any human shape, any visible human likeness. Accordingly, being present before that object, observing it, standing near it, or even lying on the ground: all these dynamics relate to human ways of being, and concern a fundamental anthropology (especially in relation to the spatiality of the dead body), but without any formal similarity to a represented body. The criticism Michael Fried addressed to minimalism's claim of simple 'specific' volumes thus was right, if only partly: he recognized the inherent theatricality of those volumes, that specificity. And yet, Fried also felt something more—something that challenged him in its own insistently non-human form—but he reduced the matter to a simple question of representation or theater. See Didi-Huberman G., *Ce que nous voyons, ce qui nous regarde* (Paris: 1992), in particular chapter 6 ("Anthropomorphisme et dissemblance"); idem, *Génie du non-lieu. Air, poussière, empreinte, hantise* (Paris: 2001); and Fried M., "Art and Objecthood", *Artforum* 5 (June 1967) 12–23.

We must understand that the critique of anthropomorphism goes far beyond the issue of religious belief, even beyond criticism of superstitions. On what grounds, then, in whose name does this critique occur? We cannot escape here the historical dimension of the problem, though that is not to imply a basis for that problem purely in history. The genealogy of anthropomorphism and its opponents matters. In fact, the denigration of anthropomorphic practices makes sense only from the turn of modern philosophy and science, with the advent of rationalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even today, the criticism of anthropomorphism in the sciences sounds undeniably like a disqualification.[6] This is due to the new cosmology that developed in the seventeenth century. From Galileo and Newton (mathematization of nature, abstraction of space by a geometric idealism, homogenizing of all spaces, objectification of matter as *res extensa*, divisible into parts, etc.) to Descartes and Kant (foundation of the subject, distinguished from object, logical rule of mechanism and cause-effect relationship, status of representation, etc.), that new cosmology has striven for ever clearer, more emphatic distinctions among things, ideas, etc.—in short, between subject (observer) and object (world). But the intellectual deck has been stacked, and so anthropomorphism suddenly finds itself in a delicate position. For indeed, anthropomorphism became stigmatized once one distinguished the subject from the object, since that implied that the 'world is lost'—i.e., that the world is no longer objectively accessible to scientific knowledge or subjectively to consciousness. In other words, anthropomorphism ceased to be viable as an intellectual norm once one refused to think of the subject and the object as products of nature, productions of the world. There remained nothing but a negative and poor way to conceive of anthropomorphism, making it a matter of projecting an already constituted subject— that sums it up—onto a world impenetrable in its supposed objectivity.[7] One thus understands that after this modernity, or rather within the framework of this modernity, where subject and object are always already given, anthropomorphism could only appear as a sort of forcing—physical, psychic, natural—a little as if one wanted to force a grain of sand into a stone.

Moreover, it is within such a framework that some historians and anthropologists of religion operate when they attempt to think of anthropomorphism universally. But they do so at the expense of taking shortcuts, if not of making ethnological errors. Anthropomorphism is sometimes childish, sometimes a primary or primitive animism, or even confused with animism:

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6   On this distincition, see Armangaud, "Anthropomorphisme" 284.
7   See Daston L. – Galison P., *Objectivity* (Cambridge: 2007).

> [. . .] man unconsciously projects himself into the external world, describing and interpreting it in terms of his own psychic processes. The whole world is thus made alive and peopled with spirits who feel and behave as men do [. . . .] In the beginning of human history, man's philosophies were wholly animistic; he diffused his psyche throughout the cosmos; he confused the self with the not-self at almost every point.[8]

Such an approach in fact fails to address the richest and most recent data of anthropology, which tend to show that animism is in fact fully opposed to anthropomorphism, at least to a projective anthropomorphism (from subject to object). Projective anthropomorphism advances a kind of perspectivism that does not ascribe any reality to substantial forms, preferring instead to see forms of relationships—the human form, in fact—and describing a relation of affinity (but among many other forms of relations, which have nothing of the human: such as the relationship between prey and predator, etc.).[9] Here we see the smugness of rationalism in the face of cosmologies that are not concerned with crisply distinguishing subject and object. Nevertheless, the 'modern' scientists or philosophers become uncomfortable when it comes to thinking about the genesis of subject and object, self and not-self, psychic interiority and physical externality, and so forth.

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Since the seventeenth century, this modern way of criticizing anthropomorphism has left very much intact an even more persistent and pernicious idol: an insidious anthropocentrism that dares not speak its name, but which, under the various forms of the subject—of humanity, of *Dasein*, etc.—only perpetuates this uncanny ability to take oneself for the center of the world, to think about the world with respect to oneself and not to one's own existence (origins, development, future, one's very death) in relation to the world. But the 'loss of the world' has been there—in truth, though, not for everyone. In the history of modern Western thought, some authors propound what Pierre Montebello has called a 'higher anthropomorphism',[10] the paradoxical practice of radically criticizing furtive anthropocentrism.

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8   See Guthrie, *Faces in the Clouds* 67.

9   On this topic, see Viveiros de Castro E., "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, No. 3 (1998) 469–488; and Descola P., *Par delà nature et culture* (Paris: 2005).

10   See Montebello P., *L'autre métaphysique. Essai sur Ravaisson, Tarde, Nietzsche et Bergson* (Paris: 2003) 12–13.

Spinoza, for example, can deal serious blows to anthropomorphism, particularly religious anthropomorphism, but at the same time he also addresses the concept of 'joy', which we experience in our human life and which names not only a human emotion but also an ontological power.[11] Nietzsche, for his part—and we know it too well—has certainly gone the furthest in the critique of anthropomorphism, to the point of unearthing human projection into the seemingly most foreign territory (the objectivity of matter, the 'laws of matter', etc.). But it is the same Nietzsche who proposes to extend our instinctive life to the totality of the world.[12] One could also mention Félix Ravaisson-Mollien who attempts to do the same with repetitive effort, or Gabriel Tarde with desire and belief, to say nothing of Bergson's work on mental life.[13] In all of these cases (which share their denial of the alleged Kantian 'Copernican revolution' and innocently perpetuate a philosophy of nature), the matter is to understand the world, to grasp the unity of the cosmos through direct, human experience. There is thus no contradiction between man and the world, humanity and cosmos; the real contradiction is between projective anthropomorphism and a 'higher anthropomorphism', based on the fact that the continuity of humanity and the world presumes, almost methodically, to start from our very experience of the world in order to think it:

> The question obviously is not to extend man to the world, but to place man in the world. Tarde notes that there is as much complexity in the infinitesimal as in man. Nietzsche and Bergson detect the same 'inner essence' of being, to varying degrees, but without deprivation. This essence is effectively in us as it is everywhere, and it is in us because it is everywhere. In truth, higher anthropomorphism [...] says exactly the opposite of empirical anthropomorphism. To anthropomorphize in an empirical way is to project oneself into things, to see oneself exactly in the variety of the world. By contrast, the method of higher anthropomorphism suggests that one can find man in all things because he is similar in nature to all things, with varying degrees of difference which it will be necessary to explain by returning to the process of differentiation, to difference instantiating itself. What is man is thus in all things, not because

11   On the critique of anthropomorphism in the seventeenth century, see in particular Minazzoli A., *L'homme sans image. Une anthropologie négative* (Paris: 1996).

12   See the famous paragraph 36 of Nietzsche F., *Beyond Good and Evil* (Cambridge: 2002) 37–38.

13   On these authors, see in particular Montebello, *L'autre métaphysique*.

> it is in man, but because it is in all things. Higher anthropomorphism seizes man at his root: and his root is cosmos.[14]

The challenge is therefore to understand that inserting oneself into things is not necessarily synonymous with projection, insofar as it is just as much things which are in us, independent of our ability to think or represent them. How better to gain that understanding, then, if not precisely by positioning oneself with respect to an early modern chronology? The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries obviously did not invent the continuity of humanity-world, but they did situate humanity more firmly at the crossroads of all cosmic dimensions, all natural strata, granting it a more central place. As we know, the sheer scope of anthropomorphism in the Renaissance must be understood within an episteme of resemblance (Michel Foucault) defined by relationships of convenience, emulation, sympathy and analogy, according to which things are adjacent, thus imitating, attracting and assimilating themselves from one end to the other of the universe forming a great chain, at the core of which stands the human being as microcosm.[15] This idea of the anthropomorphic microcosm—replete with the four elements and placed at the center of the Creation to recapitulate the whole of the 'great chain of being'—has existed since Antiquity, but it underwent a major change during the Renaissance.[16] It went from a general statement to a complex system relating the human body to the body of the world.

Thus, anthropomorphism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (though the cultural practice actually extends well into the seventeenth century) would be no less interesting because it was more literal, more attached to all kinds of 'objects'. Instead, this delirium of sympathies, of analogies, of congruences amounts to nothing less than an increasingly insistent embedding of man within the cosmos. The recapitulation of the world within man does not say anything else. If the latter benefits from an ontological superiority, it is doubtless less by virtue of humanity's position at the *top* of a classification than

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14   Ibidem 13–14. One can not be unaware of Hans Jonas's reinterpretation of anthropomorphism—an assumed anthropomorphism beyond the criticism of modern rationality. See Jonas H., "Note on Anthropomorphism", in *The Phenomenon of Life. Toward a Philosophical Biology* (Chicago and London: 1982) 33–37.

15   See Foucault M., *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (1966) (London and New York: 1970) 17–45.

16   Ibidem.

because it is situated in the highest *degree*[17] of an intensive scale, which makes humanity carry the variations of nature at the highest level: it is in the human that the world folds and wraps itself in infinite combinations. Early modernity thus offers a plethora of entirely anthropomorphic diagrams, botanical treatises, zoological studies, maps, alphabets, architecture motifs and collections of ornaments. Cosmological diagrams relating microcosm and macrocosm, for instance, evolved from the simple zodiacal man (divided into twelve parts connected by arrows to the astrological figures thought to govern every organ) into complex synoptic tables (e.g., those by Andrea Bacci, Robert Fludd, or Athanasius Kircher) which aspire to be true and scientific compendiums of the philosophy of man.[18] If humanity is the *analogon* of the world, it is because the world is itself analogically structured.

Numerous treatises on philosophy and the 'natural sciences', among other subjects, are based on this conception. Charles de Bovelles' *Liber de sapiente* (1509) develops a classification and comparison of the morphology of the various beings of creation based on the ideal figure of the human.[19] Geoffroy Tory's *Champfleury* (1529) compares the human body with the macrocosm and the letters of the alphabet, stating that everything can be brought back to singular and elementary principles whose ideal form is the model of the human body.[20] Pierre Belon opens his *Book of Birds* (1555) with a systematic comparative analysis of the skeleton of the human and that of the bird, using the Aristotelian and mathematical definition of analogy as a relationship between

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17   That is to say, humanity is not a position, as in a discrete class within the totality of things, but rather the name of a way of being which then makes encounters, sympathies, and correspondances among things.

18   On this topic see in particular Saffrey H.-D., "L'homme-microcosme dans une estampe médico-philosophique du seizième siècle", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994) 89–122.

19   Bovelles Charles de, *Liber de sapiente* (Paris, Henri Estienne: 1510). On analogy in Charles de Bovelles, see in particular Quillet P., "L'ontologie scalaire de Charles de Bovelles", in Laporte M. – Margolin J.-C. (eds) *Charles de Bovelles en son cinquième centenaire 1479–1979* (Paris: 1982) 171–179.

20   Tory Geoffroy, *Champfleury. Au quel est contenu l'Art & Science de la deue & vraye Proportion des Lettres Attiques, qu'on dit autrement Lettres Antiques, & vulgairement Lettres Romaines proportionnees selon le Corps & Visage humain* (Paris, Giles Gourmond: 1529). On analogy and anthropomorphism in Geoffroy Tory's *Champfleury*, see in particular Dubois G., "Corps de la lettre et sexe des nombres. L'imagination de la forme dans le traité de Geoffroy Tory sur la Vraye proportion des lettres", *Revue des Sciences humaines* 179 (1980) 77–91.

two or more proportions.[21] Ambroise Paré recalls, in his *Discourse on Animals and the Excellence of Man*, that the ancients 'called man an earthly God, God of the animals, messenger of the Divine and Lord of the lower things'.[22] He thus underlines, as did Pierre Charron in his *Book of Wisdom* (1601), the value of recapitulation and of the mediator man-microcosm, who is 'the knot, the median and the link between angels and animals, the celestial and terrestrial, spiritual and physical things'.[23] Perhaps anthropomorphism goes hand in hand with anthropocentrism, but it is within the framework of the universal horizontal analogy structuring the world that the vertical analogy of man-microcosm takes on its full meaning.[24] As a relational system and general comparison,[25] analogy also refers to a process of revealing hidden meanings.

The authors of the sixteenth century who etymologically link analogy to the idea of order—the Latin equivalent of analogy is *proportio*—also exploit the various meanings of the prefix 'ana', which one finds in the terms indicating rebirth or appearance, such as 'Venus ana-diomene', or 'emerging from the darkness of the sea'. As a way of knowing established on a strong sense of order, analogy allows progress toward a fuller understanding: Bovelles describes

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21   Aristotle defines analogy as 'similarity established between two or more parts' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1131). Pierre Belon du Mans expounds the Aristotelian analogy of proportion (a is to b, what c is to d) in his "History of Nature Bird" when he compares the skeleton of the bird and that of man; see *L'histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (Paris, Cavellat: 1555). The logic and mathematical concept of the analogy led to the plotting of rigorously precise scalar analogies between the human world and the diverse fields of the cosmos. On analogy in Renaissance thought, see in particular Foucault, *Order of Things* 17–45; Tripet A., "Aspects de l'analogie à la Renaissance", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 39 (1977) 7–21; Gadoffre G., *Les hommes de la Renaissance et l'analogie* (Loches: 1976); Céard J., *Analogie et zoologie chez les naturalistes de la Renaissance* (Paris: 1980); Randall M., *Building Resemblance: Analogical Imagery in the Early French Renaissance* (Baltimore: 1996); and Chaptal J., *Renaissance et Baroque. Les charmes de l'analogie* (Paris: 2012).

22   Quoted in Céard J., *La nature et les prodiges. L'insolite au XVIᵉ siècle* (Geneva: 1970) 101.

23   Quoted in Céard J., "'In homine quodam modo sunt omnia': récapitulation et analogie à la Renaissance", in Gorris Camos R. (ed.), *Macrocosmo, microcosmo. Scrivere e pensare il mondo nel Cinquecento tra Italia e Francia* (Fasano: 2004) 14.

24   On the idea of vertical analogy between terrestrial and celestial things through man-microcosm who 'completes and crowns the horizontal analogy structuring the world', see Céard J., "In homine" 15.

25   See Céard, "In homine" 17, which uses the term 'universal analogy': 'C'est dans le cadre de cette analogie universelle que la thèse de l'homme-microcosme prend tout son sens. L'homme est comme le lieu où se rassemble, sans s'y appauvrir, toute la diversité du monde, et en même temps, l'être qui, en la réunissant de manière cohérente, manifeste l'ordre profond qui l'organise'.

analogy as 'elevating', for instance, and Erasmus compares it with the 'anagogy', designating spiritual illumination in exegesis.[26] Humanity in the Renaissance is both model of and actor in this quest for knowledge: the wise man, writes Bovelles, travels through the world as a pilgrim of unity.[27] Analogy has the power to bring forth truth from resemblance and to produce an image that strikes the mind, imprinting itself more strongly than any speech. Therefore, the prominent place given to sight and visual comparison in the arts and in numerous books is fully understandable. The fish-monks and fish-bishops described by Pierre Belon, Ambroise Cardan, Jérôme Cardan, and Guillaume Rondelet are signs (*monstra*) of the hidden order that governs both the submarine world and the world of humanity.[28] The engravings of Giambattista della Porta—who, in his *Phytognomonica*, observes that plants, like humans, produce milk and saliva, possess nerves, flesh, veins, bones and hair—demonstrate the conviction that visible analogies are *signatures* which reveal an invisible therapeutic knowledge, detectable to the gaze leveled analogically on humanity and plants.[29]

Early modern anthropomorphism does more than merely suggest the idea of multiple correlations between microcosm and macrocosm. The human body also provided a model with respect to which artists and art theorists claimed to fashion human creations. 'All the products of art and reason must take the human body as a model, well formed and proportioned', writes the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini (citing Vitruvius). Martini's treatise begins (in a manner reminiscent of Pierre Belon's *Book of Birds*) with an analogy between the human skeleton and the structure of a building, an analogy that then extends to each constituent part of the body.[30] The very literal anthropomorphism that characterizes most Pythagorean Renaissance treatises—relating architecture to the divine proportions of the human body—

26   See Margolin J.-C., "L'analogie dans la pensée d'Erasme", *Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte* 69 (1978) 24–50.

27   The possibility of explaining the world's infinite variety by bringing it back to a finite and familiar model makes clear the success of the analogous anthropomorphic model. As rightly noted by Leonard Barkan in his *Nature's Work of Art*, anthropomorphism is the answer the Renaissance brings to the traditional question of *discordia concors*. See Barkan L., *Nature's Work of Art. The Human Body as Image of the World* (New Haven – London: 1975) 16, 117, 133, 140.

28   See in particular Céard, *La nature et les prodiges* 229–312.

29   Ibidem 229–251; Foucault, *The Order of Things* 40–45.

30   Martini Francesco di Giorgio, *Trattati di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte militare*, ed. C. Maltesse, vol. 1 (Milano: 1967) 3. On anthropomorphism in early modern architecture and architectural theory, see in particular Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art* 116–174.

yields gradually to a figurative and ornamental anthropomorphism that pro-liferates on columns, porticos and façades, eventually culminating in the anthropomorphic ornaments of Christoph Jamnitzer and Giovanni Battista Braccelli.[31]

Moreover, one should not neglect the transitive dimension of anthropo-morphism: it not only constitutes knowledge, but is also constitutive of knowl-edge; not only does it suppose a vision of the world, it also makes possible a knowledge of this same world. Such was also the intention of the Foucaldian enterprise in *The Order of Things*: not so much to report 'worldviews' as to seize *epistemes*—i.e., the historical conditions governing what is knowable, which give shape to a subterranean knowledge—since Foucault's concept of epis-teme deals less with thoughts than with what is thinkable at a certain time and in a certain place. Anthropomorphism can thus be assimilated to exegetical and hermeneutical processes, especially those to be found in the visual arts.

In the wake of Foucault's remarks on the episteme of resemblance in the six-teenth century, numerous studies have shed new light on the relation between analogy and anthropomorphism in literature, art, theology and science from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. But the coexistence of various anthropomorphic models—no less than the evolution from a literal anthropo-morphic model (with rational, cosmological, medical and mathematical pre-tenses) to more critical and metaphorical approaches—still raises important questions about anthropomorphism as a cultural practice during that extra-ordinarily fecund period. Our goal in this volume is to address some of those questions—about the didactic, historical, and hermeneutic challenges of anthropomorphism—from a range of disciplinary perspectives, to map the still-unfamiliar territory of this particularly ambivalent form of analogy.

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31   Although mainly devoted to anthropomorphism in English Renaissance literature, Leonard Barkan's book, *Nature's Work of Art*, is the only comprehensive work on this phenomenon for the Early Modern period. An important contribution of Barkan's book is the idea of an evolution from a literal and rational anthropomorphism toward more poetic and metaphoric operations. This highlights the various meanings and uses of anthropomorphism during that period, but at the same time, the author makes a very wide use of the idea of poetic anthropomorphism, considered only as a matter of metaphor and ranking in the same category the ideas of myth and mysticism: 'It has become clear that through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the literal analogy of man's body with the world's moved farther and farther out of the mainstream of philosophical and scientific thought, and toward myth and mysticism. The more out-of-date the idea becomes as science, the richer it is as a convention between poet and audience' (ibidem 48).

With that in mind, this volume follows a two-part structure. The first half pertains to the broader cultural operations anthropomorphism performed in the early modern era, operations that the volume explores in three groups of essays. The first group pertains to anthropomorphism and the boundaries of the human. We begin with an essay by Anne-Laure van Bruaene. Drawing on a wealth of cases involving both zoomorphized humans and anthropomorphized animals, Van Bruaene examines the use of beasts as metaphors for political and religious groups during the Dutch Revolt. Whether the product of peasants or of *rederijkers*, such redescriptions depended on a range of factors, from homophony (e.g., associating calves with Calvinists) to general prejudice (e.g., ridiculing the Catholic clergy by equating their behavior with the presumed venality of foxes) to rough visual resemblance (the *Leo Belgicus*). However, Van Bruaene notes an important tendency in Netherlandish satire: that of animalizing opponents, rather than demonizing them. The result, she suggests, was more complex than simply "othering" a particularly troublesome group of people. It also provided a means for comprehending tremendous economic, political, and religious upheaval. Consequently, anthropomorphism and zoomorphism in the context of political discourse comprised quite literally a battle of wits for a culture *in extremis*.

Next comes an essay by Christina Normore, who discusses the complicated parallelism of human and simian in the later fifteenth-century Burgundian *milieu*. Normore begins with the zoomorphization of boorish human behavior, such as one finds in the 1468 marriage celebration of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, which included performers masquerading as unruly simians, which served in turn as stand-ins for degenerate men. Normore notes, however, that the performance of such roles was more than simply an obvious representation of acceptable and unacceptable behavior. The lavishness of the celebration—its costumes, its sets, and even its performers' actions—was designed to provoke admiration, even as it denigrated supposedly uncouth comportment. Recognizing the fundamental ambivalence of this situation, Normore suggests that, by treading a fine line between stupid and clever, simians in the Burgundian *milieu* thus explored not only the social importance of intellect, but also the elusive character of that capacity.

Paul Smith closely examines Rabelais's approach to anthropomorphosis in the five novels comprised by his *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*. Smith attends to a four-fold typology of the dynamic relations between landscape and the human body, as 'bodied' forth in Books 1 to 3: metaphorical analogy of space (as *comparandum*) to the body (as *comparans*), and conversely, of the body (as *comparandum*) to space (as *comparans*); anthropization, in which the human body exercises a clearly discernible effect of its environment, often resulting

in a relation of resemblance; and conversely, 'environmental determinism', in which the environment exercises a discernible effect on its inhabitants, again resulting, more often than not, in a relation of resemblance. As Smith shows, however, the heterotopias visited in the *Fourth Book* and the virtually indescribable islands visited in the *Fifth Book* complicate or even contravene this typology, no more so than on the Island of Satin where everything is subsumed into pictorial representation, and neither *comparans* nor *comparandum* can be construed as real.

This subsection of the volume closes with an essay by Miya Tokumitsu on the figuring of cultural and geographical difference through images of cannibalism. Tokumitsu argues that, insofar as consumption of the body equals annihilation (cf. the essays by Heuer and Silver elsewhere in the volume), using the cannibal to embody distant continents and cultures enabled an investigation of the limits of what was deemed recognizably human—i.e., civilized, according to sixteenth-century European norms—behavior. However, as Tokumitsu also notes, where used to embody distant, poorly understood lands, the monstrous anthropoid also served as a stand-in for annihilation of a very different sort: that meted out by a newly expansive world now bounded by implacable environmental extremes. Consequently, the cannibal came to embody more than simply threatening differences of geography, race, culture, and even class. It also became the face of oblivion itself.

The next group of essays attends to the construction of emotion as a fundamental component of the self. First comes an essay by Nathalie de Brézé, which takes as its focus later sixteenth-century printed depictions of the soul. De Brézé attends to the utility of anthropomorphic (as opposed to zoomorphic) depictions of the soul in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed images. Such depictions matter, not least because they necessarily call into question the relationship of body and soul at death. (Pieter van der Borcht, for instance, depicted the body as in essence a crude vehicle for the soul, something to be stripped away after death; and the soul as figure, the nudity of which indicates its equality with all others in the eyes of God.) De Brézé also notes the potential for identification on the part of viewers contributed to the appeal of such imagery. She points out, for instance, that Otto Vaenius (among others) employed the anthropomorphic soul in his prints as something of a double for the viewer.

Second, Marisa Bass investigates a cluster of compositions that feature prominent human figures in Joris Hoefnagel's 1569 volume *Patience*. Discussing the volume in the context of Hoefnagel's time in England, she argues that the volume served a relatively small audience of fellow Netherlandish expatriates, for whom the decision to figure patience anthropomorphically was a witty, in

some respects even ambivalent, invitation to meditate on the complexities of the topic. The result, she suggests, were figures that transcended the abstract nature of allegory to express it in a richer, more deeply social way. Presenting the viewer with a series of remarkably subtle interpretive challenges, those figures thus instantiated patience by cultivating a simultaneously empathic and considered experience of it.

And third, Aneta Georgievska-Shine writes about seventeenth-century friendship books as exercises in the imagination of humanist communities. That imagination, she suggests, occurred through the performance of sociable interpretation among friends, who appear as one another's second selves. The resulting self-fashioning is both a spatial operation, linking people across distances, and a temporal one, extending friendship beyond the brief flicker of an individual life. Discernment and wit proved especially important, as marks on the page were thought to attest to the personality that produced them, varying not only over time but also depending on context and content. Consequently, she argues, the medium of the *album amicorum* was believed to provide a relatively pure, even unmediated image (*simplex imago*) of the self that contributed to it. No less important, that variability of marks and texts created an interpretive playing field on which erudite observers could continually instantiate their friendship—either in person or, in the book itself, by proxy— through virtuoso interpretive performance.

The cluster of essays that follows addresses the use of anthropomorphism as a tool for articulating identity on a large scale (regional, linguistic, ethnic, and so forth). At the heart of the first essay, by Pamela Brekka, lies the decision by Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) to use typology as a mechanism for asserting political, regional, and religious identity in Counter-Reformation Spain. Particularly noteworthy are anthropomorphized beams of the Mosaic tabernacle, which Montano used to create an exegetical contrast between Old Law (manufactured, anthropomorphic) and New (the *non manufactum*, free of resemblance). Brekka suggests that, placing artistry, a product of post-lapsarian industry, in contrast with the world, divine in origin, Montano implied that rebellious lands were in essence malformed echoes of a proper— sc., Catholic—order emanating from the person of Philip II of Spain.

Sarah Kyle who considers the anthropomorphizing functions of the heraldic devices featured prominently within a group of late-fourteenth-century manuscripts commissioned by Francesco II 'il Novello' da Carrara of Padua. These heraldic portraits operated within a discursive community of commemorative *libri*, such as Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Book of Carrara Princes and their Deeds* and Lazzaro de' Malrotondi da Conegliano's *Book of Shields of the Carraresi Lords*, that utilize rhetorical tropes codified by Cicero and Quintilian to convert the family's heraldic insignia into anecdotal evocations of princely

character. The most innovative of Francesco Novello's manuscripts, the *Carrara Herbal*, attaches botanical specimens, variously rendered in both imitative and non-imitative ways, to the patron's repertory of personal and familial heraldry, signalling his distinctive commitment to the acquisition of medical knowledge. For the Carrara, as Kyle argues, heraldic usage was both symbolic and anthropomorphic: more than a marker of property, it underscored princely authority by prompting the reader-viewer to visualize a characterful image of the Lords of Carrara.

Elke Werner writes about the rise of female personifications of Europe in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These personifications, she argues, arose from deep-seated anxieties borne primarily of political and religious conflict. Of particular importance for Werner's essay is the gendering of cultural traits, which are defined either as muscularly virtuous and in the ascendant (e.g., in images of *europa triumphans*) or as delicate and in need of putatively masculine (i.e., politically acceptable) defense. Playing on a long history of images of ideal women, such personifications thus served to arouse a kind of courtly response in the viewer that would align him with a broader, idealized Christian European identity.

The second half of this volume pertains to the basic semiotic problems raised by figuration as a cultural practice. First, Walter Melion discusses two large prints of whales beached in the vicinity of Haarlem between 1598 and 1601. These prints allow him to investigate when and why certain types of image seemingly ripe for viewing through an anthropomorphic lens, instead proved resistant to such a reading. Engraved by Jacob Matham, these two plates, the first of which translates a drawing done after the life by Hendrick Goltzius, the second a drawing by Matham himself, contain inscriptions in Latin and Dutch, the former by Theodorus Screvelius, the latter by Karel van Mander, that respectively humanize the depicted specimens by construing them as political portents (Screvelius) and contravene such an interpretation by insisting that they be seen not as omens but as natural prodigies and indices of divine artifice (Van Mander). Melion explores some of the religious and political circumstances, as well as discursive and performative practices, which can be seen to complement the kind of response advocated by Van Mander. In conclusion, by reference to one of Goltzius's greatest *poëterijen* (poetic fictions), the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1593, he asks when and how it proved possible for Goltzius, Van Mander, Matham, and their circle to indulge in the impulse to anthropomorphize or, more precisely, both to humanize and divinize a natural prodigy.

Next, Ralph Dekoninck discusses the history of how people have understood, and at times misunderstood, anthropomorphic metonymy from Augustine to Noël-Antoine Pluche. The crux of the matter for these authors

was the relationship between the literal and the metaphorical, the perceptible and the comprehensible. As Dekoninck notes, critics generally reserved their ire for those who excessively court or engage in the former. Augustine, for instance, suggested that his ancient forebears had erred by mistaking gifts from God (e.g., intellect, emotion, and the like) for gods themselves. Worse, at least for Augustine, was the potential for the human form to cultivate idolatrous behavior, insofar as anthropomorphic imagery implicitly defined the body as a vessel to be endowed with the soul. By the seventeenth century, however, a shift had occurred, according to which anthropomorphic imagery, both verbal and visual, was a way to render concepts and other elusive entities perceptible, while those entities endowed imagery with a kind of life (i.e., interpretive vitality).

The next two essays attend to figuration as a kind of impossibility—the veiling, not of the invisible,[32] but of the wholly non-existent, even of oblivion itself. First, Christopher Heuer writes about how the character of *Nemo* (Nobody) served to interrogate the dynamism of personification in the early sixteenth century, insofar as it destabilized reference by depicting a person—no-one— who does not exist. Referring to the sixteenth-century rise of naming as a technology of social control, Heuer notes that, for early modern Netherlandish and German cultures, *Nemo* was a floating boundary figure that served largely as a vehicle for identifying and negating unacceptable economic and social traits. By way of contrast, he then frames Bruegel's various nobodies as more specifically reflexive entities—in essence, devices for interrogating signification itself.

Next, Larry Silver addresses what he calls an 'active, hostile anthropomorphism' in the *Triumph of Death* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Eschewing divinity from his depiction of the subject, Bruegel instead concentrates our attention on the sheer wealth of paths by which humanity arrives at its single, inevitable terminus; no less important, relegating the infernal to a small, if central, portion of the composition, Bruegel ironically apotheosizes anthropomorphized death at the pictorial expense of all else. The resulting image contrasts starkly with much humanist discourse: where fame, monuments, and texts may preserve the memory of greatness, death will inevitably, inexorably, unfailingly consume all else. In this respect, Silver suggests, that image has an important point of contact with one of Bruegel's other flirtations with universality and

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32   Cf. Krüger K., *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren. Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der Frühen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich: 2001).

nullity: *Elck* (1558). In both painting and print, the artist employs anthropomorphism to delineate the boundaries of universality and oblivion.

The subsequent two essays then address the potentialities of anthropomorphism, beginning with an essay by Elizabeth Petcu, who writes about anthropomorphism as a means for artistic self-validation. Of particular importance for her essay are architects at the court of Rudolph II, who worked to refine a later sixteenth-century visual anthropomorphism of orders (as opposed to long-standing textual or verbal traditions). At the heart of her essay lies decorum, which, she demonstrates, served as component of architectural rhetoric, not just a principle governing the discipline's visual vocabulary. Given this, she notes, many architects exploited an important interpretive richness of the orders that stemmed from a dual expectation of discernment and subtlety on the part of viewers. The result was a system in which deft expression—sc., strategic deviation from the rules governing that system—allowed the motions of an architect's (or patron's) mind to come across as fully as possible to the viewer. As a result, Petcu suggests, anthropomorphism enabled the discourse of architectural expression to correspond increasingly to that which had governed the figural arts more generally.

Next, an essay by Bertrand Prévost addresses the idea of Face/Landscape (Visage/Paysage), a conception that refers not only to the development of pictorial 'genres' but also to more profoundly aesthetic functions, sc., finding an ideal figure with which to embody a given concept. Building on the theoretical work of Deleuze and Guattari, he uses the term 'Landscape' to denote the extension of painting (in the classical sense of *extensio*), and consequently to its divisibility in equivalent parts; likewise, he employs 'Face' to evoke the force of a presence. The essay attends especially closely to Christian images, which have a long tradition of claiming the ability to visualize Christ's Face in everything—even (or perhaps above all) when a face is no more recognizable—as much as they have developed 'Christ landscapes' in order to provide a meditative path for the devotee.

The last two essays discuss anthropomorphic imagery as a prompt to metamorphic interpretation—i.e., hermeneutic experiences that would result in transformation of the viewer. First, addressing the motif of sexual interest in early sixteenth-century Netherlandish visual culture, Bret Rothstein discusses a number of anatomical metonyms—some fairly obvious, others debatable—in Jan van Hemessen's (1536) *Prodigal Son*. The fact of such metonyms, he suggests, is less noteworthy than the range of interpretive viability they present. Drawing on contemporaneous vernacular song, he notes that anthropomorphic substitution seems to have formed the basis for remarkably sophisticated

language games. Similarly, Rothstein argues, artists such as Hemessen used interpretive substitution and its handmaid, vagueness, to destabilize pictorial representation, treating the picture less an exercise in mimetic recapitulation than one of parabolic admonition.

And finally, Michel Weemans analyzes the ambiguous anthropomorphic smoke in the '*Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*', one of Karel van Mallery's engravings for Louis Richeome's *Holy Pictures* (1601). Beyond the mere historical meaning, Mallery's engraving elaborates a complex visual exegesis in which the anthropomorphic or christomorphic smoke plays a critically important role. Mallery's image is related to the Christian notion of *figure* (theorized by Richeome in the prologue of his book), which operates by means of semiotic displacement and is defined by biblical typology as the shadow that finds its completion in Christ. It is also connected to the interest of Early Modern authors and artists in the 'natural image' (i.e., the mimetic object somehow generated by natural forces). No less important, Richeome's notion of *figure* also bears on how we understand earlier Flemish artists, who used double images to stimulate the speculative vision of the spectator, in essence cultivating religious metamorphosis through hermeneutic volatility. Mallery's 'double image' thus invites us to rethink the (inter)dependence between the three components (the engraved image, the ekphrasis and the exposition of the mystical meaning) of the 'Holy Pictures' which Richeome qualifies as 'triple images'.

Anthropomorphism and the Order of Things

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Delineating the Boundaries of the Human

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Revolting Beasts: Animal Satire and Animal Trials in the Dutch Revolt

Anne-Laure van Bruaene

All wars are beastly—or so we humans like to think.[1] Take for example the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648). This was not a clean, heroic struggle for liberty of an emerging Dutch nation but a nasty civil war that divided people in religious and political factions and exposed townspeople and country folk alike to the ruthless violence of underpaid mercenaries. The Revolt's most infamous orgy of violence—that went down in history as the 'Spanish Fury' (1576)—led to the murder, rape and torture of probably several thousands of men, women and children in the commercial metropolis of Antwerp.[2] Rather unsurprisingly even to our modern tastes, contemporaries accused Spanish soldiers—deemed responsible for spoiling the country with their brutal and lecherous misdeeds—of acting like 'pigs' [Fig. 1.1].[3] But beasts were implicated in the wars in more sophisticated ways. Pigs, cows, calves and sheep, but also cats and dogs, lions and foxes, geese and parrots, and even octopuses and salmon all played parts in the drama of the Revolt. In this essay I argue that animals were omnipresent in the Dutch Revolt, first of all metaphorically—as villains and heroes—but also literally—as intended victims of political and juridical violence. I will confront animal satire with animal trials and read both as ways of coping with enormous political and religious tensions. My main contention is that thinking and acting with animals are not only revealing for a period's anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beliefs but also for wider cultural anxieties about human identity and about where to draw the line between right and wrong.[4]

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2   Arnade P., *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca – London: 2008) 243–259.

3   See for a discussion of the print, Horst D. R., *De opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566–1584)* (Zutphen: 2003) 287–293; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots* 304–307.

4   Cf. Fudge E., *Perceiving animals. Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Urbana – Chicago: 2002) 1–10.

FIGURE 1.1   *Anonymous*, Cessez Pourceaux de rompre ma Haye [...] fay ailleurs la guerre/
              Houdt op in mijn Thuijn te wroeten Spaensche Beeren [....] (*Stop Rooting
              Around in My Garden, Spanish Pigs*) (*ca. 1578–1582*). *Etching, 235 × 293 mm.
              Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-77.682.*

Let us begin with cats. In 1582, Willem Weydts, a Catholic tailor living in
Calvinist Bruges, wrote in his chronicle an account of the entry ceremony of
François de Valois, Duke of Anjou (1555–1584). The Duke of Anjou, younger
brother of the French king, had been elected as prince in the Netherlands in
replacement of the abdicated Philip II, King of Spain (1527–1598).[5] The entry
of Anjou into Bruges, where a majority of Catholics, loyal to King Philip II,
was dominated by a Calvinist minority, literally led to an explosive situation.
Weydts describes how on the central marketplace a wooden ship was built,
filled with gunpowder, puppets and living cats. When the construction was
set to fire in the evening, the puppets flew in the air, while the chained cats
screamed infernally. According to Weydts, there was no doubt about the mean-

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5   Van Bruaene A.-L., "Spectacle and Spin for a Spurned Prince. Civic Strategies in the Entry
     Ceremonies of the Duke of Anjou in Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent (1582)", *Journal of Early
     Modern History* 11, 4–5 (2007) 263–284.

ing of these beastly fireworks: 'this meant that the *gueux* party wanted to burn and destroy all Catholics'.[6]

Weydts' description and interpretation of the fireworks is not entirely corroborated by the printed official account that only mentions in passing that a ship was built on the marketplace for fireworks in the evening.[7] Yet, as Robert Darnton's essay on the great cat massacre in eighteenth-century Paris has famously exposed, the abuse of cats in public ritual was commonplace in early modern Europe and always served as a great crowd-pleaser.[8] This was certainly also the case in the Low Countries. For example, in 1549, Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) and his son Philip II had watched from the balcony of the city hall of Brussels a religious procession with in between representations of saints and the life of Christ a wagon with a (man dressed like a) bear playing an organ with the chords attached to the tails of twenty living cats. The courtly spectators were intrigued by this 'extravagance'.[9] Also, a famous cat festival was held annually in the Flemish city of Ypres, where living cats were thrown from the tower of the cloth hall to the great delight of the assembled crowd of town and country dwellers.[10]

More striking than the mere fact that cats were used in the Bruges' entry ceremony of 1582, is that Weydts decoded the fireworks as a warning of the Calvinist city magistracy to the city's Catholic inhabitants and to François d'Anjou, who despite of his support for the Dutch Revolt was also a devout Catholic. For Weydts it was plainly clear: cats equaled Catholics. Whether this was really the intended message cannot be answered from the sources, but the use of living cats in anti-Catholic propaganda is also documented for England in the same period.[11] More importantly, 'cats' had become a common invective

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6   Weydts G., *Chronique flamande 1571–1584*, ed. E. Varenbergh (Ghent – Bruges – The Hague: 1869) 59–60: 'dit was te bedyeden dat de Ghuesen wel wylden alle de catolycken verbranden ende te nyete doen'.

7   Carton C., "Die Heerlicke Incomste van Francois van Frankrijk", *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 6 (1844) 87.

8   Darnton R., "Workers Revolt: The Great Cat Massacre of the Rue Saint-Séverin", in idem, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: 1984) 75–104. See also Cohen E., "Animals in Medieval Perceptions. The Image of the Ubiquitous Other", in Manning A. – Serpell J. (eds.), *Animals and Human Society. Changing Perspectives* (London: 1994) 59–80.

9   Delumeau J. (ed.), *La mort des pays de Cocagne. Comportements collectifs de la Renaissance à l'âge classique* (Paris: 1976) 115–116.

10   Moesen A., "De Kattenfeesten te Ieper", *Van Mensen en Dingen* 3, 4 (2005) 378–399.

11   Boehrer B., "Gammer Gurton's Cat of Sorrows", *English Literary Renaissance* 39, 2 (2009) 280–282.

for 'Catholics' in the Low Countries. In fact, as I will show, from the early stages of the Dutch Revolt onwards the identification between animals and religious confessions or political factions is well-documented.[12]

Animal Satire

An informative source is the chronicle of Marcus van Vaernewijck (1518–1569), a Catholic *rederijker*, intellectual and artist, who wrote a detailed eyewitness account of the troubles in the years 1566–1568 in his hometown Ghent.[13] In a lively style (often quoting direct speech) he writes about the Calvinist hedge preaching and the subsequent Iconoclasm and narrates how these events eventually provoked the coming to the Low Countries of the Army of Flanders. Vaernewijck frequently refers to the use of animal satire and imagery in his chronicle. His account reveals that animal names were often used as unambiguous metaphors in order to comment upon religious and political affairs. For example, people in Ghent complained that 'the priests have deceived and seduced us as poor sheep'.[14] Vaernewijck also quotes more provocative remarks of fellow townsmen who sympathized with the *gueux* party. For example, some intimidated rich Catholics by threatening: 'you have said that the *gueux* are dogs, well, you will be one of the first to be beaten like a dog!'[15] A local cook demonstrated a better sense of humor when he expressed his anti-Catholic sentiments by naming his dog 'Papist' and giving him a tonsure.[16]

While animal metaphors as 'sheep' or 'dog' referred to general characteristics such as innocence or viciousness and could allude to Protestants as well as Catholics, religious groups or political factions were also given fixed animal names, based on paronymy. Catholics were 'cats' (*catten*), Calvinists were 'calves' (*calvers*), clerics (*papen*) were parrots (*papegaaien*) and *gueux* were geese (*ganzen*).[17] Vaernewijck mentions that someone attending a hedge

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12   See also Maeterlinck L., *Le genre satirique dans la peinture flamande* (Brussels: 1907) passim; Verberckmoes J., *Schertsen, schimpen en schateren. Geschiedenis van het lachen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: 1998) 150–157.

13   Lamont K., *Het wereldbeeld van een zestiende-eeuwse Gentenaar, Marcus van Vaernewijck* (Ghent: 2005).

14   Vaernewijck M. van, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt 1566–1568*, ed. F. Vanderhaeghen (Ghent: 1872–1881), book II, cap. XIV 179: 'dat de papen ons bedroghen ende verleedden als aerme schapen'.

15   Ibidem, Book III, cap. XIX 302: 'ghij hebt ghezeijt dat de ghues honden zijn, ghij zult van den eersten zijn, die zelve als eenen hondt geclopt zult zijn'.

16   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book VI, cap. III, 19.

17   Verberckmoes, *Schertsen* 155.

preaching made his anticlerical feelings public by shouting: 'do not call the priests lords but call them cats'.[18] Those who remained loyal Catholics were also very creative in inventing animal insults. Since it was such a visible sign of growing religious group formation and segregation, public psalm singing by Calvinists was a favorite target.[19] Catholics deliberately confused psalms (*psalmen*) with salmons (*salmen*), leading to satirical remarks like 'the salmons will be very cheap by Lent, since we can hear them everywhere in the streets'.[20] Marcus van Vaernewijck found this joke so funny that he devoted a whole poem to it in his chronicle.[21]

The use of animal satire—apparently originating from jokes and rumors in the streets[22]—quickly spilled over to other media such as songs and prints. Vaernewijck describes that in 1566 a print was on sale in Antwerp that showed a parrot in a cage, alluding to the clergy and its wealth. A monkey—referring to Martin Luther (1483–1546), since a *martkin* was a small monkey—severely damaged the cage, but a calf—referring to Calvin (1509–1564)—completely destroyed it.[23] No impression of this print is extant. Yet, from approximately the same period is a print titled 'the Mass of the Hypocrites' ('De misse der ijpocrijten') showing foxes in clerical vestments celebrating mass while allusions to the greediness of the Catholic Church abound [Fig. 1.2].[24] Here the choice of animal was motivated not by paronymy but by the presumed malicious and unreliable nature of foxes.

Animal satire was of course a widely popular genre in medieval and early modern Europe.[25] One of the most prolific stories was Reynard the Fox,

18   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book I, cap. II 8–9: 'en noumt de papen gheen heeren maer heet se liever catten'.

19   Pollmann J., "Hey ho, let the cup go round! Singing for Reformation in the Sixteenth Century", in Schilling H. – Tóth I. G. (eds.), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: 2007) 294–316.

20   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book I, cap. XIV, 66–67: 'die salmen [. . .] zullen nu zeer ghoeden coop zijn jeghen den vastenen, mits dat mer nu alzoo achter straten mede loopt'.

21   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book V, cap. XXIX, 352–353.

22   Nierop H. van, "'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars'. Rumour and the Revolt of the Netherlands", in Pollmann J. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: 2007) 69–86.

23   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book I, cap. XIV, 68–69.

24   Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit* 52.

25   Cohen E., "Law, Folklore and Animal Lore" 110, 1 (1986) *Past and Present* 6–37; Salisbury J. E., *The Beast Within. Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York – London: 1994) 103–136; Perry K., "Unpicking the Seam: Talking Animals and Reader Pleasure in Early Modern Satire", in Fudge E. (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts. Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Urbana – Chicago: 2004), 19–36.

FIGURE 1.2   *Anonymous*, De misse der ijpocrijten/ La messe des Hijpocrits (*Mass of Hypocrites*) (*ca. 1566*). Woodcut, 152 × 233 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-78.853.

starring a cunning, bloodthirsty fox that deceived and humiliated other vicious animals such as a bear, a tomcat and a wolf. The story of Reynard has a noble setting, but the enormous popularity of the text makes it unsurprising that in the sixteenth century clerics were often represented as sly foxes. The vernacular Dutch version *Van den vos Reynaerde* was adapted to prose and printed and reprinted several times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[26] Also, in 1567, for the first time a fable book was published in the Dutch vernacular. *De Warachtighe fabulen der dieren* was a prestigious book project launched by the influential engraver Marcus Gheeraerts (ca. 1520–1590) who made the copper engravings and asked the *rederijker*—and fellow townsman from Bruges—Eduard de Dene (ca. 1506–1579) to complement them with appropriate texts. According to Karel van Mander (1548–1606), Gheeraerts had made his engravings in 1566 in the wake of the *Beeldenstorm*, so about the same time as

26   Debaene L., *De Nederlandse volksboeken. Ontstaan en geschiedenis van de Nederlandse prozaromans, gedrukt tussen 1475 en 1540* (Hulst: 1977) 147–154; Pleij H., *Het gevleugelde woord. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1400–1650* (Amsterdam: 2007) 468, 487–488, 538–540.

when Marcus van Vaernewijck started compiling notes for his account on the increasing religious and political tensions in Ghent. Adaptations of Gheeraerts' fable books appeared in French in Antwerp in the equally troubled years 1578 and 1579.[27] Therefore, it seems that the rise of the genre of the fable book can at least be indirectly linked to the more widespread success of politically inspired animal satire in the sixteenth century.[28] Some political prints, like 'The Sleeping Lion' ('Den slapende leeu') [Fig. 1.3], edited in 1578 by the Antwerp *rederijker* Willem van Haecht (ca. 1530–1612), bear resemblance to Marcus Gheeraerts' engravings.[29] It seems that representing humans as animals or giving animals

FIGURE 1.3   *Johannes Wierix* (attr.), Den slapende leeu (*The Sleeping Lion*) (*1578*). *Engraving, 202 × 314 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-79.019.*

27   Geirnaert D. – Smith P. J., "Tussen fabel en embleem: *De warachtige fabulen der dieren* (1567)", *Literatuur* 9 (1992) 22–33; Vaeck M. van, "Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch 'Emblematic' Fable Books from the Gheeraerts Filiation", *Emblematica* 7 (1993) 25–38; Smith P. J., *Het schouwtoneel der dieren. Embleemfabels in de Nederlanden (1567–ca. 1670)* (Hilversum: 2006).

28   Perry, "Unpicking the Seam" 20 also points at the political uses of the fable book genre.

29   The engraving was executed by Johannes Wierix after Marten van Cleve. See Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit* 272–276.

human characteristics was a practice that travelled easily from the streets to the educated circles of *rederijkers* and artists and vice versa.

The religious and political polarization caused by the Reformation and the religious wars gave animal satire a new sense of urgency, as is illustrated for example by its effective use in Germany in the early Reformation.[30] More generally, satire was a much-used weapon in the political battles of the Dutch Revolt.[31] Contemporary chronicles, like those of Marcus van Vaernewijck and Godevaert van Haecht (ca. 1546–1599), read like a catalogue of jokes the different parties told about each other.[32] Both authors belonged to the milieu of the *rederijkers*, amateur poets who had successfully developed satiric genres such as *esbattementen* (comic plays) and *refreinen in 't zotte* (comic poetry) since the early fifteenth century.[33] Perhaps owing to the urban literary practices of the *rederijkers*, religious violence in the Low Countries was much more verbal than physical. Many scholars have noted that non-military physical violence against persons occurred significantly less frequently in the Netherlands than in France, where the religious wars were notoriously bloody.[34]

The townsmen of the Low Countries, it can be argued, did not demonize their opponents, they just animalized them. More precisely, the animal satire of the Dutch Revolt cannot be reduced to a practice of 'othering'. Like in the case of the *gueux* name itself—originating from the claim that the political opponents of the regime were only 'beggars'[35]—factions appropriated the nicknames they had been attributed. In a manuscript with songs and poems compiled by an anonymous Catholic from Ghent, two texts from 1566 and 1580 respectively laud the heroic struggle of the parrot (*papegaai*), here in the

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30   Scribner R. W., *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: 1987) 282–285. For France, see Pineaux J., "La métaphore animale dans quelques pamphlets du XVIᵉ siècle", in *Le pamphlet en France au XVIᵉ siècle* (Paris: 1983) 35–45.

31   Nierop H. van, "A Beggar's Banquet. The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion", *European History Quarterly* 21, 4 (1991) 419–443; Verberckmoes, *Schertsen* 144–194.

32   Nierop, "And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars".

33   Coigneau D., *Refreinen in het zotte bij de rederijkers* (Ghent 1980–83); Pleij H., "The Function of Literature in Urban Societies in the later Middle Ages", *Dutch Crossing* 29 (1986) 3–22; Waite G., *Reformers on Stage. Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556* (Toronto: 2000).

34   Woltjer J. J., "Violence during the Wars of Religion in France and the Netherlands: A Comparison" *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 76 (1996) 26–45; Pollmann J., "Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence, 1560–1585", *Past and Present* 190, 1 (2006) 83–120.

35   Nierop, "A Beggar's Banquet".

general meaning of the Roman-Catholic church, against villain beasts such as the calf, the monkey and the lion. The parrot is assisted by two other noble birds: the wren (*koninkske*) and the eagle, alluding to the Spanish King and the Holy Roman Emperor respectively.[36] A song from the *Geuzenliedboek* tradition from around 1572 praises the geese for their courageous resistance to the fox.[37] A print with a similar purport from the same period shows an army of victorious *gueux*/geese after the conquest of Den Briel (1572), while a group of foxes in clerical vestments is conspiring in the front [Fig. 1.4]. The lead goose is

FIGURE 1.4 *Anonymous*, De ganzen verjagen de vossen (*The Geese Chase the Foxes*), ca. 1572. *Engraving, 217 × 280 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-79.024.*

36   *Politieke balladen, refereinen, liederen en spotgedichten, der XVIe eeuw*, ed. Ph. Blommaert (Ghent: 1847) 25–27 and 195–197. See the discussion in Mannaerts T., *"Hoort, hoe 't gaet te Ghendt". De mentaliteit van de katholieke bevolking onder calvinistisch bewind (1577–1584). Onderzoek aan de hand van de politieke en religieuze balladen en refreinen, UB Gent hs. 583* (M.A. thesis, Ghent University: 2009) 175.

37   *Het Geuzenliedboek*, ed. E. T. Kuiper (Zutphen: 1924),volume 1, song 46, 101–103.

wearing glasses, alluding to another popular joke based on paronymy: on April 1, 1572 the Duke of Alba had lost his spectacles or *bril* (for Den Briel).[38] In sum, by embedding political fear and religious anxiety in the familiar genre of satire and, more particularly, by reverting to animal satire, the messy reality of civil war was reworked into a comprehensible, undeniably cruel but often very funny tale about fighting, trick-playing and sometimes heroic animals.

Animal Trials

Yet, the Dutch Revolt was more than just a joke. The sixteenth-century preoccupation with animal analogy can also be understood as a symptom of the uneasiness about categories in a time of great political and religious turmoil.[39] Vaernewijck mentions the capture in 1566 of two 'monstrous' fishes in Holland, in fact octopuses. A representation of one of the animals appeared in print and was copied carefully by Vaernewijck in his chronicle together with its bilingual caption 'Duer Godts ghenade ben ic ghevaen/ Duer mij mach men veel wonders verstaen// La grace de Dieu m'a faict prendre/ Par moij peut on grand merveille entendre' [Fig. 1.5]. According to Vaernewijck, the *gueux* party considered the capture of the octopuses as a sign that God was on their side and would send help from the sea. The rebels found additional proof in the fact that the octopus's suction cups strongly resembled the *gueux*' characteristic begging bowls. Vaernewijck himself refuted such an interpretation, but left no doubt that he too believed that 'such monsters usually have a special meaning'.[40]

Octopuses were fearsome beasts emerging from a strange underwater world. On the other side of the natural spectrum, there was uncertainty about where precisely to draw the line between more familiar animals and humans. In a context of great political and religious tensions the boundaries of humanity were viewed as unstable.[41] One must not forget that in the same period the question of the humanity of heretics was also—often literally—at stake.[42]

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38   Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit* 128–130. See also the geese on the ships in Fig. 1.1.

39   Cf. Fudge E., "Introduction", in Fudge E. (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts. Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Urbana – Chicago: 2004) 2; Payne A., "Notes from the Field: Anthropomorphism", *Art Bulletin* 94, 1 (2012) 29–31.

40   Vaernewijck, *Van die Beroerlicke tijden*, Book IV, cap. IV 15–16: 'ghemeenlic zulcke monstren ijet sonderlijncx te bedieden hebben'.

41   See also Perry, "Unpicking the seam" 23.

42   Gregory B. S., *Salvation at Stake. Christian Martyrdom in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: 1999).
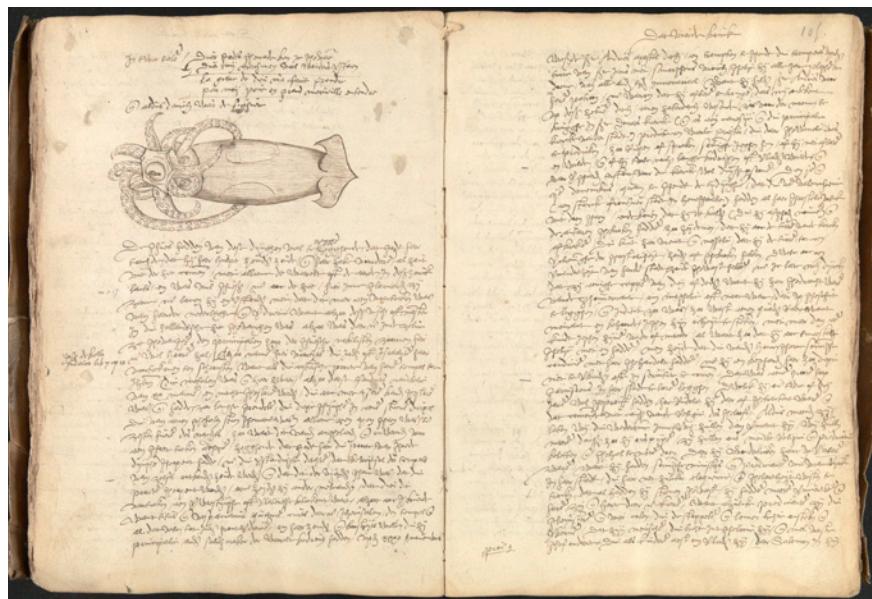
FIGURE 1.5   *Marcus van Vaernewijck, copy of a print* Duer Godts ghenade ben ic ghevaen/ Duer
mij mach men veel wonders verstaen// La grace de Dieu m'a faict prendre/ Par
moij peut on grand merveille entendre (*By the Grace of God I was Caught/ One
Can Understand Great Wonder Through Me*) (*1566*). *Ink drawing in Vaernewijck's
autograph chronicle. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 2469.*

Therefore animal satire was not the only animal language in the Dutch Revolt;
it coexisted with an anthropomorphic belief in the moral capacity of animals
to act like humans.[43] Contemporary criminal theory confirmed these beliefs.
Joost de Damhouder (1507–1581) asserted in his *Practycke ende handbouck in
criminele zaken* (1555) that an animal (and thus not his master or his master's
servant) must be punished if it had hurt someone out of 'its inner wickedness'.[44]
Malicious beasts deserved punishment but, following the same reasoning,
they were also entitled to a fair legal procedure. This led to a practice of ani-
mal trials, attested for many parts of medieval and early modern Europe.[45]
Interestingly, we also have evidence of animal trials that were held in cities

43   Cf. Cohen, "Law, Folklore"; Cohen, "Animals" 75.

44   Damhouder Joos de, *Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaken* (Louvain, Steven
Wouters – Ian Bathen: 1555) 263: 'zijn inwendeghe quaetheit'.

45   Cohen, "Law, Folklore"; Dinzelbacher P., "Animal Trials: A Multidisciplinary Approach",
Journal of Interdisciplinary History 32, 3 (2002) 405–421.

that were intensely involved in the struggles of the Dutch Revolt: in their quest for a new divine order and for political stability, city magistracies did not hesitate to prosecute animals that had crossed moral boundaries.

A first revealing case is documented for Ghent, where in 1577 a political coup had taken place that had allied the city to the cause of the Dutch Revolt. Ghent quickly opted for a radical Calvinism. The promotion of the new confession gained momentum in 1578 after the accusations of widespread homosexual practices in the mendicant convents. Violent iconoclastic riots broke out, and after the expulsion of the monks the convents were confiscated by the Calvinists. By the end of the summer of 1578 the monks accused of sodomy had been convicted in a high-profile trial.[46] Meanwhile, Ghent had virtually become an exclusively Calvinist city. In this context, on September 5, 1578, a cow was sentenced by the urban magistracy. The reason was sad but straightforward: the cow had killed a child. It was decided that the beast had to be sold and slaughtered; the profit had to be divided between the child's father and the city's chamber of the poor. This judgment does not seem so remarkable, except for the fact that the cow's head had to be put on a stake for public display.[47] Thus, the cow had to pay publicly for its misdeeds, just like the monks sentenced for sodomy had done two months before. This judicial spectacle was probably less intended as a reminder of the bad nature of animals, than of the concern for justice of Ghent's controversial Calvinist regime.[48]

In a second case from 1595 the accused was a dog from Leiden who went by the name of Provetie: he had bitten a child; the child had died a few days later.[49] Like Ghent, Leiden was a city that had undergone enormous transformations. The city was a hallmark of the success of the Dutch Revolt: there was

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46   Decavele J., "'Génève' van Vlaanderen", in Decavele J. (ed.), *Het eind van een rebelse droom. Opstellen over het calvinistisch bewind te Gent (1577–1584) en de terugkeer van de stad onder de gehoorzaamheid van de koning van Spanje (17 september 1584)* (Ghent: 1984) 32–62; Decavele J., "Brugse en Gentse mendicanten op de brandstapel in 1578", in Soly H. – Vermeir R. (eds.), *Beleid en bestuur in de oude Nederlanden. Liber Amicorum prof. dr. M. Baelde* (Ghent: 1993) 73–93.

47   Berkenhoff H. A., *Tierstrafe, Tierbannung und rechtsrituelle Tiertötung im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: 1937) 30–31.

48   Bruaene, A.-L. van, "A Breakdown of Civic Community? Civic Traditions, Voluntary Associations, and the Ghent Calvinist Regime (1577–84)", in Eckstein N. – Terpstra N. (eds.), *Sociability and its Discontents. Civil Society, Social Capital, and their Alternatives in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: 2009) 273–291.

49   Elsevier W. J. C. R. (ed.), "Vonnis tegen een hond", *De Navorscher* 10 (1860) 60; Stokvis B., "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het wereldlijke dierenproces in de Noordelijke Nederlanden" *Tijdschrift voor Strafrecht* 41 (1931) 416–418; Berkenhoff, *Tierstrafe* 34.

the heroic relief from a Spanish siege in 1574 and the installation of the first Reformed university in the Low Countries in 1575. Yet, in the 1580s and 1590s Leiden also faced severe challenges. After the fall of the Calvinist regimes in the Southern Low Countries in the 1580s, Leiden had attracted thousands of emigrants in hope of reviving its textile industry. Although these efforts would prove to be a success in the seventeenth century, late sixteenth-century Leiden struggled with poverty and the difficulties of accommodating a large migrant population, part of which was much more zealous in religious affairs than local inhabitants. In this context, the oligarchic city magistracy considered itself as the beacon of order and stability.[50]

In 1594, tensions had also run high between the magistracy and the cosmopolite group of often-riotous university students. As a provocation, some theological students had brought a dog to university and had promoted him doctor in a mock ceremony.[51] One year later, satire had to make place for serious legal action. Without any apparent sign of irony, the city magistracy sentenced the dog Provetie. The sheriff declared that acts like those committed by Provetie 'should not be tolerated in a city of good police, but had to be punished harshly to the exemplum of others, in particular wicked dogs'.[52] Scrupulous attention was paid to procedure and the exemplary nature of the punishment. It was noted, for example, that the defendant had confessed outside of torture. He was sentenced to hanging on the central place and to the dragging of his dead body to the gallows-field where he would be hung again to the deterrence of other dogs. His goods—in the case he had any—were declared forfeited and confiscated to the benefit of the county of Holland.[53]

Animal trials have been decoded by modern scholars as means of local communities to cope with extreme threats. By judging animals like humans, following well-established legal procedures, local magistracies demonstrated their commitment to law and order.[54] This was clearly also the case in Ghent and Leiden. The intense pressure of the political, religious and social transformations caused by the Dutch Revolt pushed civic leaders to act swiftly and fiercely against all forms of moral transgression, from sodomy to animal aggression

50   Kooi C., *Liberty and Religion. Church and State in Leiden's Reformation* (Leiden: 2000) 19–28.

51   Koppenol J., *Leids Heelal. Het loterijspel (1596) van Jan van Hout* (Hilversum: 1998) 131–132.

52   Elsevier (ed.), "Vonnis" 60: '[. . .] in een stad van goede politie niet moet werde geleeden, maer tot een exempel van andere insonderheyd van quade honden ten hoogsten moet werden gestraft'.

53   Ibidem.

54   Cohen, "Law, Folklore"; Dinzelbacher, "Animal Trials".

towards children. Moreover, the respect for civic privileges—including the legal autonomy of urban communities—was a central theme in the Dutch Revolt, mirroring the region's strong legal traditions.[55] Yet, although systematic research is lacking, it seems that animal trials remained exceptional.[56] There is however a clear analogy with the much more frequently staged and much better documented witch trials. The occurrence of animal trials and witch trials in Europe largely coincides, showing a peak in the decades around 1600.[57] A similar parallel has been noted for trials against the crime of bestiality, notably also in the county of Flanders.[58]

In the Dutch Republic witchcraft prosecutions virtually came to an end in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Contrariwise, in those parts of the Low Countries that had reconciled with the Spanish King and with the Roman-Catholic church witch hunts significantly intensified.[59] A common accusation was the conversation of witches with the devil in animal shape.[60] For example, Josyne Wecsteene from Bergues in the county of Flanders was accused in 1596 of sexual relations with a devil named Barlick who had presented himself in the shape of a 'big black cat'.[61] With the help of Barlick, Josyne had killed three horses and some cows. While demonological arguments had been absent from the urban animal trials from Calvinist Ghent and Leiden we discussed, the

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55   Gelderen M. van, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt (1555–1590)* (Cambridge: 1992).

56   For the Low Countries see Stokvis, "Bijdrage tot de kennis" 399–424; Monballyu J., "Een gevaarlijk varken in Kortrijk in 1562. Een dierenproces voor de schepenen van Kortrijk", *De Leiegouw* 17 (1975) 283–286; Monballyu J., "Een dierenproces in Ingelmunster in 1587", *De Leiegouw* 24 (1982) 173–175; Gijswijt-Hofstra M., "Mens, dier en demon. Parallellen tussen dieren- en heksenprocessen?", in Grootes E. K. – Haan J. den (eds.), *Geschiedenis, godsdienst, letterkunde. Opstellen aangeboden aan dr. S.B.J. Zilverberg ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Roden: 1989) 55–62.

57   Gijswijt-Hofstra, "Mens, dier en demon" 57–58; Dinzelbacher, "Animal Trials" 410; Kalof L., *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London: 2007) 64.

58   Monballyu J., "'Van vuylle faycten ieghens de nature'. Bestialiteitsprocessen in het graafschap Vlaanderen op het einde van de zestiende eeuw en het begin van de zeventiende eeuw", *Biekorf* 100 (2000) 160–172; Thomas C., "'Not Having God Before his Eyes': Bestiality in Early Modern England", *Seventeenth Century* 26, 1 (2011) 149–173.

59   Vanysacker D., "Het aandeel van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de Europese heksenvervolging (1450–1685). Een status quaestionis", *Trajecta* 9, 4 (2000) 329–349.

60   Cf. Simon M., "Les animaux du Diable. Animalité et sorcellerie dans le Val de Lièpvre (1570–1630)", *Histoire et Sociétés Rurales* 17 (2001) 63–89.

61   In Dutch: 'een groote zwarte catte'; see the digital edition of Jos Monballyu: https://www.kuleuven-kulak.be/facult/rechten/Monballyu/Rechtlagelanden/Heksenvlaanderen/Vonnissenhekserij/Vonnissenhekserijtekst1500-1599.htm#_ftnref7 (consulted December 18, 2012).

witchcraft trials are proof of a similar need for order in a country devastated by wars.[62] Calvinists and Catholics alike projected their religious, political and social anxieties on those who challenged the boundaries of humanity, such as witches, sodomites and beasts.

Hopes and Fears in Animal Shape

Humanized animals and animalized humans—to use a phrase from Martin Kemp[63]—were omnipresent in the Dutch Revolt. By looking more closely at animals and animal representations in different contexts, we can reach a better cultural understanding of the experience of civil war and rebellion in the early modern Low Countries. The most striking example of the importance of animal analogies in the Dutch Revolt is the application of animal form to the country itself. A popular satirical image was the representation of the Netherlands as a cow. The cow initially specifically symbolized Holland, referring to the agricultural prosperity of this Northern county.[64] But in the context of the Revolt, the cow was used as an allegory for the entire Low Countries, being milked and exploited by foreign nations and princes. In a print with German captions from around 1587, a starved-looking cow named 'the cow from the Netherlands' is milked by a Scotsman, taken by the horns by a German and led astray by a Frenchman (probably the Duke of Anjou), while King Philip II tries to hold on to his tail [Fig. 1.6]. This particular print lauds Philip II's military commander and governor Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma (1545–1592) as liberator of the Low Countries, but similar representations from the seventeenth century present other political standpoints.[65]

Undoubtedly, the most famous and influential animal representation of the Low Countries was the *Leo Belgicus* or Netherlandish lion, invented by the Austrian historiographer Michael von Aitzing (ca. 1530–1598) and executed in its original version by Frans Hogenberg (ca. 1535–1590), between 1579 and 1583 [Fig. 1.7]. Aitzing and Hogenberg were not the first to design a map in animal— or human—shape: earlier examples are a map of Europe in the form of

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62   Demonology was also absent from bestiality trials; Monballyu, "Van vuylle faycten" 168–169.

63   Kemp M., *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (Chicago – London: 2007) 1.

64   Meijer Drees M., "Vechten voor het vaderland in de literatuur, 1650–1750", in Sas N. C. F. van, *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940* (Amsterdam: 1999) 130–134.

65   Meijer Drees, "Vechten voor het vaderland" 130–131.

FIGURE 1.6   *Anonymous*, Die Khue Auß Niderlandt (*The Netherlandish Cow*)
            (*ca. 1587*). *Etching, 175 × 263 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,*
            Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-80.058.

FIGURE 1.7   *Michael von Aitzing and Frans Hogenberg, "Leo Belgicus" (The*
            Netherlandish Lion), engraved illustration to the 1588 reprint of
            Novus de leone Belgico eiusque topographica atque historica
            descriptione liber (*Cologne, Gerhard von Kempen: 1583*).
            366 × 445 mm. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Acc. 1892.

a maiden by Johan Putsch (1516–1542) of Innsbruck in 1537 and a world map in the shape of an eagle by Giovanni Battista Guiccardini (ca. 1508–1587) in 1549.[66] Aitzing justified his choice for a lion by noting that it was the bravest animal of all and that most Netherlandish provinces carried a lion in their coat of arms.[67] Besides, from the 1560s onwards, the lion had also been a stock character in songs and prints, representing cities (such as Ghent), provinces (such as Holland) [Fig. 1.1] or the entire Low Countries. The lion thus referred to a political territory rather than to a political faction, but nevertheless it was still treated as ambiguous. In an already mentioned Catholic song from 1580 that praised the parrot, the lion was declared to be a 'rebel'.[68] Until the 1590s, the *gueux* songs showed similar doubts about the lion's qualities, sometimes identifying him with Spanish authority.[69]

Nevertheless, its relation with heraldry and thus its strong suggestion of political legitimacy, made the lion a very powerful symbol. A series of two engravings realized by Willem van Haecht, Marten van Cleve (ca. 1527–1581) and Johannes Wierix (ca. 1553–1619) in 1578, shows in the first print—alluding to the political situation in 1567—a sleeping lion [Fig. 1.3], but makes clear in the second print that in 1578 the 'belgique lyon' (or Netherlandish lion) had awoken.[70] Aitzing's and Hogenberg's lion map soon followed: as part of Aitzing's book *De leone belgico* in 1583 and as a one-sheet map in 1586 (or possibly earlier). In *De leone belgico* Aitzing took pains to underline his own impartiality in the political conflict. The introduction states: 'And this was done without any prejudice, quite soberly and striving for nothing but the truth. We hope you will agree that we were never biased in your favor or in that of any of the parties mentioned'.[71] This was an important move. Aitzing detached the lion from its earlier contexts of biting animal satire or anthropomorphic beliefs. Animal form was now used to project a sense of unity to a territory whose inhabitants had never—even before the onset of the political troubles—embraced the idea of 'national' cohesion.[72] This also explains the continuing popularity of the

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66   Heijden H. A. M. van der, *Leo Belgicus. An illustrated and annotated carto-bibliography* (Alphen aan den Rijn: 1990) 11–12.

67   Heijden, *Leo Belgicus* 17–18.

68   *Politieke balladen* 195–199; Mannaerts, *Hoort, hoe 't gaat* 136–137.

69   Spies M., "Verbeeldingen van vrijheid. David en Mozes, Burgerhart en Bato, Brutus en Cato", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 10 (1994) 146–147.

70   Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit* 272–277.

71   As translated in Heijden, *Leo Belgicus* 24.

72   Duke A., "The Elusive Netherlands. The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden* 119, 1 (2004) 10–38; Stein R., "Introduction", in Stein R. –

Leo Belgicus in the seventeenth century, when all hopes of a united Netherland would soon fade. Many new versions of the lion map were designed, and most showed the Low Countries as a whole, although the territory was now de facto divided between a Dutch Republic in the North and a Habsburg satellite state in the South. But by hanging a *Leo Belgicus* on their wall, people expressed their attachment to the old, highly idealized fatherland.[73]

The Dutch Revolt was quite literally a beastly war: cats died in highly politically charged fireworks; dogs, cows and other animals were convicted for their murderous crimes. Catholics and Calvinists mockingly called each other 'cats' and 'calves', while the *gueux* identified with geese that heroically defeated foxes. Many complained that, because of the wars, the Low Countries were milked like a cow, but they found solace in the emerging fiction of the Low Countries as a strong nation, invincible like a roaring lion. In conclusion, the animal satire and animal trials of the Dutch Revolt can be understood as strategies for coping with and making sense of political disruption and religious strife. Despite their contrasts in contexts, goals and effects, animal satire and animal trials were cultural practices that both played with the perceived similarities and differences between humans and animals. Importantly, the animal language of the Dutch Revolt was a common language, shared by city magistracies, visual artists, *rederijkers* and ordinary people in the streets. Sixteenth-century Netherlanders seem to have shifted easily between the clear-cut anthropomorphism of animal trials and the zoomorphic laughter of animal satire, and to have had no trouble in imagining their country in animal shape. This shows above all how complex cultural experience in times of war was for the human animal.

Pollmann J. (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden: 2010) 1–18.

73   Heijden, *Leo Belgicus* 13–16; Verschaffel T., "Leo Belgicus. Een nostalgische prent aan de muur", in Tollebeek J. – Velde H. te (eds.), *Het geheugen van de Lage Landen* (Rekkem: 2009) 13–18.

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Monkey in the Middle

Christina Normore

From the Middle Ages on, the anthropomorphosis of other species troubled Christian convictions concerning humanity's special status. In their oscillating similarity and dissimilarity to mankind, monkeys in particular embodied a persistent concern that haunts the projection of human qualities onto non-human animals: just as beasts may act like people, so too people can appear all too bestial. Early Modern authors and artists repeatedly cast simians as irrational but highly skilled imitators ruled by their senses. These imagined monkeys not only encapsulated the fearful pleasures of the animal within, but also evoked the specter of a possible inhumanity lurking within the carefully wrought aesthetics of the creative arts and court culture.[1] The complex interweaving of desire, fear, moralizing, and pleasure that encircled the figure of the monkey at the dawn of the Early Modern period can be seen in two depictions of the popular vignette of the Monkeys and the Peddler.[2] Issuing from the elite culture of mid-fifteenth century Flanders, the Cloisters Monkey Cup [Fig. 2.1] and the *entremets* from the third night of banqueting at the marriage of Margaret of York and Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy both cast monkeys as performers and connoisseurs whose ambiguous antics in the end draw the viewer into the realm of the beast. Exploiting simians' close association with simulation, these seemingly fanciful explorations of humanity's imperfect doubles directly engaged their viewers with the problems of sensual delight and mimetic representation in the courtly arts.

Simulating Simians

At once assigned human qualities and used as the quintessential sign of the non-human, animals and their depictions repeatedly tested the pre-modern

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1 On the range of meanings assigned simians, see Janson H. W. *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: 1952); Sorenson J. *Ape* (London: 2009).

2 On the motif, see Hardwick P., "The Merchant, the Monkeys, and the Lure of Money", *Reinardus* 19 (2006) 83–90; Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 216–225; Weemans M., "Herri met de Bles's Sleeping Peddler: An Exegetical and Anthropomorphic Landscape", *Art Bulletin* 88, 3 (2006) 459–481; Young B., "The Monkeys & the Peddler", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 44, 1 (1986) 441–454.

FIGURE 2.1   *South Netherlandish, Beaker ("Monkey Cup")*
(ca. 1425–50 with additions). Silver, silver gilt,
enamel, overall 20 × 11.7 cm. The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, The Cloisters, 1952 (52.20). Image
copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Image source: Art Resource, NY.

boundaries erected between mankind and all other species. Early Christian
sources largely treat animals as objects or tools, but from the twelfth century,
European art, literature, and legislation increasingly probed the boundary
between man and beast.[3] From the satirical adventures of Reynard the wily
fox to the trials of crop-destroying locusts, medieval Europeans increasingly
conceived of and treated animals as sentient beings that acted with human-
like intent, even as theologians continued to insist that only humans possessed
true reason.[4] Many of the creatures selected for frequent attention either lived
in close proximity to people (such as pigs) or had long been sanctioned by
tradition (such as lions). Simians, however, rose to prominence in late medi-
eval and Early Modern discourse despite their continued rarity in Europe,

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3   Salisbury J., *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, second edition (New York: 2011)
      10–145.
4   *Le Roman de Renard*, ed. L. Foulet (Paris: 1914); Evans E. P. *The Criminal Prosecution and
      Capital Punishment of Animals* (New York: 1906); Salisbury, *Beast Within* 108–115. A useful dis-
      cussion of the language used in animal anthropomorphism can be found in Crist E. *Images of
      Animals: Anthropomorphism and Animal Mind* (Philadelphia: 1999).

arguably because they spoke so precisely to new conceptions of animals as all too human.[5] Interchangeably called monkeys and apes, simians are relatively rare in Western European fables and art until the late Middle Ages, when they increasingly came to populate the texts and particularly the images of European elites as figures of failed humanity.

Most animals in fables act in ways that are largely indistinguishable from humans: lions, for example, are driven by kingly rather than feline desires. In contrast, the metaphorical use of monkeys and apes as signs of corrupt humanity drew substantially on real simians' ability to act as skilled, but imperfect, imitators of human activities. As early as the sixth century, Isidore of Seville noted what he called a false etymology that derived *simia* from the ape's similarity (*similitudo*) to human behavior.[6] Isidore preferred to derive the name from the Greek for pug-nosed (σιμοσ), which stressed the animal's ugliness. Yet this too reflects the anthropocentric bias that structures many interpretations of simians. As Augustine famously remarked in *De natura boni*, apes may be very beautiful in ape terms—it is only when held to the standards of human pulchritude that they appear unattractive.[7]

In concentrating on the monkey as a failed human and imperfect simulator, later medieval and Early Modern artists and authors simultaneously stressed its humanlike qualities and reinforced a boundary between its activities and those of people.[8] In visual and verbal depictions alike, monkeys routinely appear as thoughtless, compulsive imitators of human actions. Manuscript marginalia endlessly depicted gluttonous, vain, and aggressive monkeys as imperfect parodies of all varieties of humanity from nursing mothers to clerics to knights, with each imitator largely unmoored from a narrative context that might appear to suggest intentional motivation.[9]

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5   This discrepancy is noted by Salisbury, *Beast Within* 106. Beyond limited classical references, it does not appear that true apes were known in Europe until the sixteenth century: references to apes most likely refer to 'Barbary apes', a variety of macaque with a stubbed tail frequently pictured in late medieval manuscript marginalia (Sorenson, *Ape* 43). Janson notes that ape images regain popularity slowly in the twelfth century, with numbers radically increasing in the thirteenth century (*Apes and Ape Lore* 43–56, 110, 163). The literature on the subsequent European interest in primates is extensive. For examples, see Sorenson, *Ape* 48–91, 95–162.

6   Isidore of Seville *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. S. Barney et al. (Cambridge: 2002) 253.

7   Augustine *The De Natura boni of Saint Augustine*, trans. A. Moon (Washington D.C.: 1955) 74–75.

8   Salisbury, *Beast Within* 122–123.

9   Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 163–198; Wirth J. *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques, 1250–1350* (Geneva: 2008) 197, 244–6, 313–318.

The unreflective character of monkeys was particularly tied to their reliance on surface appearances and taste for sensual pleasures. Bestiaries and early encyclopedias informed readers that wild monkeys could be caught by setting traps that took advantage of the simian's drive to imitate humans and inability to understand the potentially harmful reality lying beneath outward attractiveness.[10] If a hunter pretended to place birdlime on his eyes, for example, a watching monkey was certain to do so in truth and in the process blind himself. Such anecdotes suggested that even in their most seemingly human behaviors, monkeys instinctively reacted to stimuli rather than displaying reasoning ability.[11] This constructed mindlessness was then mined for its moralizing possibilities: just as the hunter trapped the unreflective ape, a person acting without reason would inevitably be caught by the devil.

Monkeys were also closely associated with a passion for sensual delights, which frequently prevented them from perceiving truths available to the more rational human. In a favorite motif, monkeys were repulsed by the bitter outer shell of a nut, and so threw it away immediately rather than reach the sweet meat within. If, as the medieval cliché ran, higher allegorical and spiritual meaning is hidden like a nut within the shell of a text, monkeys were clearly considered incapable of obtaining it. Slave to its senses, the monkey was thus literally and figuratively liable to be blinded by them. In humans, a similarly wandering attention and inability to discern underlying truths was characteristic of the vice of *curiositas*, which was personified as a monkey at Chartres.[12]

The vignette of the Monkeys and the Peddler both belongs to and nuances this longer tradition of ape lore. It is largely agreed to have originated in visual art and always remained a more popular subject for artists than authors.[13] Its narrative content is slight. A peddler lies down to sleep only to be set upon by thieving monkeys. Ransacking the peddler's goods, which include musical instruments, mirrors, and other signs of worldly pleasure, the monkeys then proceed to make merry with them. Signifiers of human degeneracy, monkeys were cast as flawed impersonators condemned to mockery precisely by their

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10   Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 33–34.

11   Similar rhetorical strategies in modern nature writing are discussed in Crist, *Images* 166–172.

12   On the ape as a symbol of *curiositas*, see Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 112. On medieval conceptions of *curiositas* see Carruthers M. *The Craft of Thought* (Chicago: 1998) 82–94; Hamburger J., "Idol Curiosity" in Krüger K. (ed.) *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2002) 21–57; and Wood C., "'Curious Pictures' and the Art of Description", *Word & Image* 11 (1992) 332–52.

13   Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 217; Weemans, "Sleeping Peddler" 459.

humanlike behavior. The larcenous monkeys besetting the sleeping peddler adhere to this larger model in several ways: as thieves they exhibit greed and defile both social decorum and the trade economy; as musicians and seekers of vanity they revel in their base and foolish love of carnal pleasure. Yet these are unusually self-motivated monkeys by traditional standards, capable not only of pilfering from the defenseless peddler, but also of correctly using a wide variety of civilized objects without any obvious human actor that they might be imitating. The scene of the Monkeys and the Peddler thus hovers uneasily between the traditional mockery of imperfect simian simulation and a possible recognition of real parallels between the creative abilities of monkeys and men. Its enactments at the marriage feast of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold and on the Monkey Cup each demonstrate the malleability and nuance with which this seemingly simple motif could probe the sensitive barrier between courtiers and animals in the realms of imitation and aesthetics.

Aping Courtiers

The pan-European guests attending the marriage of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and the English princess Margaret of York experienced the pleasures and challenges of bestial doubles at first hand. The third night of celebratory feasting began by asserting its ducal patron's superiority over both his social inferiors and non-human animals through the conflation of these two groups. Yet as the evening wore on a series of simulated animal performances slowly began to erode the distinction between aristocrats and animals, culminating in a moment of reversal where the staging of the Monkeys and the Peddler was directly juxtaposed with the dancing of the noble company. Simulation and artistic appreciation were the twin forces that drove this disintegration, intriguingly linking both professional performance and elite self-presentation with animalistic inclinations.

Entering the feast hall in Bruges on the evening of 5 July 1468, the wedding guests were immediately immersed in a fanciful military encampment.[14] On each table were platters and pastries covered by glistening silk tents decorated with the ducal coat-of-arms and the personal mottos of both the Duke and his new Duchess alongside the name of a subject town; each pastry also included two small humanoid figures at the base. In the center of the hall rose a tower reaching all the way to the ceiling, a model of the Blue Tower of Gorinchem

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14   Marche O. de la *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, eds. H. Beaune – Arbaumont J. d', volume 3, (Paris: 1885) 151–154.

that Charles had begun work on while still count of Charolais. From this tower emerged a watchman who, after feigning fright at the sight of all the assembled tents, recognized them as allies and entertained them with a series of musical performances: goats on the sackbut and bagpipe, wolves with flutes in their paws, and singing donkeys each serenaded the guests from the tower. The entertainment concluded when a group of monkeys discovered a merchant's bag of goods and performed a *morisque* dance with them, followed by the traditional removal of the tables and dancing of the assembled guests.[15]

A first possible reference to simians was among the earliest sights to greet the guests. Many of the gilded pavilions emblazoned with ducal insignia that dotted the feast hall were literally undercut as signs of authority by the small figures attacking them from below. The memoirist Olivier de la Marche recounts that on 'each pastry were two gold and azure marmosets clothed in silk, who seemed to be attempting to destroy the pastries with various tools: some with hoes, others with clubs, others with spades, each of them making a different face'.[16] As one of the principal planners of the marriage festivities, de la Marche is far from a neutral witness to the banquet he describes. His choice of the term 'marmosetz' to describe these figures suggests that the aggressive humanoids were meant to convey qualities shared between real simians and degenerate men. As in the modern French 'marmouset', the fifteenth-century 'marmoset' applied rather broadly to small humanoid grotesques, a group in which simians were often included.[17] Precisely because its bestial connections made it derogatory, the term marmoset could also be applied to depictions of vilified groups. At the wedding festivities, it appears to be laborers in particular who were singled out for condemnation. Despite their silk clothing and exotic coloration, the marmosets at the marriage banquet of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York are marked as workers in revolt by the lower-class hoes, spades, and clubs they wield against the coats-of-arms and other marks of ducal power embroidered on miniature tents that protected the pastries. In the years surrounding 1468 the possible real world analogues to these miniature attackers were legion: the artisans of Ghent, Liège, and Mechelen all revolted

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15   The *morisque* was a well-established dance in late medieval France apparently related but not identical to the Spanish *moresca* and English Morris dances. Its choreography remains a matter of substantial debate, but seems to have included loud footwork and exaggerated, potentially lewd, gestures. For a discussion of the *morisque*, see Stefano G. di, "La Morisque en France", *Le Moyen Français* 8–9 (1981) 264–290.

16   Marche, *Mémoires* 151: 'sur chascun pasté avoit deux marmosetz d'or et d'azur, et vestuz de soye, qui tenoient maniere d'effondrer lesdicz pastez de divers outilz: les ungs de hoyaulx, les autres de massues, les aultres de besches; et chascun faisoit diverses contenances'.

17   Poerck G. de, "Marmouset. Histoire d'un mot", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 37, 3 (1959) 615–644.

against Charles the Bold within the summer of 1467 alone.[18] The ambiguous male figurines besetting the duke's glittering silk tents exploit the slippage between anthropomorphized monkeys and zoomorphized humans to represent the unease of contemporary politics. In conjunction with the small size of the marmosets, this blurring of the boundaries between species allows the Duke to exploit the traditional Biblical guarantee of human lordship over animals in order to both visually and theologically assert his ability and right to control a group of opponents whose miniaturized, bestial depiction marks them not only as negative but also irrational and destined for subservience.[19] The striking similarities between humans and simians encapsulated in the fifteenth-century term 'marmoset' are thus deployed at the opening of the banquet to belittle the duke's non-aristocratic political opponents.

This seemingly simple formulation in which zoomorphism signals social debasement became increasingly unstable as the banquet unfolded. Performed by costumed humans, the goats, wolves, and donkeys that serenaded the guests from within the model tower skillfully played their instruments not simply to make noise, but rather to please with courtly *chansons* and motets. The resulting ambiguity between the animal and the court entertainer is at once humorous and unsettling, a tension epitomized in the donkeys' song that formed the penultimate act of the evening. Hovering between performing and mocking courtly love, they serenaded the new bride with a four-part harmony of interspecies affection:

> Do you play the ass, my mistress?
> Do you believe, for your rudeness,
> That I should abandon you?
> Ah, neither for kicks nor for bites
> That might come to me would I leave you.
> For eating thistles like a jenny [. . .]
> I cannot stop loving you
> Do you play the ass?
> Be silly or mocking,
> Whether it be cowardly or brave,
> I was made to honor you.[20]

18   Vaughan R. *Charles the Bold* reprint (New York: 2002) 5–15.

19   Freedman P., "The Representation of Medieval Peasants as Bestial and as Human", in Creager A. N. H. – Jordan W. C. (eds.) *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives* (Rochester: 2002) 29–49.

20   Marche, *Mémoires* 153: 'Faictes vous l'asne, ma maitresse?/Cuydez vous, par vostre rudesse,/Que je vous doye habandonner?/Jà pour mordre ne pour ruer/Ne me aviendra

Despite their asinine exteriors, the men within the donkey costumes sing rather than bray, aurally marking themselves out as people as well as animals. The mixing of human and non-human animal is extended as the lyrics repeatedly describe their courtly lady (likely a reference to the royal bride seated in the audience) as potentially bestial—it is she who might descend from her decorous dining into biting, kicking, and inhuman eating practices without ever losing the singers' affections. In its protestations of devotion, the song cleverly ties together high and low, the daily use of donkeys as working animals renowned for their patient service with the fashionable pose of abject subservience required from men by the rarified social code of courtly love.[21] By humorously pointing out the overlap between farmyard animals and passionate courtiers, the singing donkeys invite their listeners to contemplate the dynamics of love service, which paradoxically elevates men for the same obedience used to denigrate beasts.

The donkeys' claim that they were 'made to honor you' also importantly speaks to the realities of the *entremet*'s performance. In order for this spectacle to unfold, costumes had to be made and donned, singers hired and coached. The value placed on the visual impact of the costumes is suggested not only by de la Marche mentioning that they were 'very well made',[22] but also by the fact that the production of the evening's animal heads was put in the hands of Jean Hennecart, an illuminator and *varlet de chambre* who was one of the four organizers of the marriage celebration.[23] By drawing attention to the human agency at work in the creation of the visual and aural spectacle as the *entremet* unfolded, the amorous donkeys invited viewers to admire the artistic skill that made the pleasurable consumption of anthropomorphized animal singers possible.

The staging of the Monkeys and the Peddler followed directly on the donkeys' remarkably civilized declarations of love, and expanded further on its investigation of the relationship between man, animal, and artifice. Sounding

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que je vous laisse./Pour manger chardon comme asnesse [...] Laisser ne puis de vous aymer./Faictes vous l'aisne?/Soyez farsante ou mouqueresse,/Soit lascheté ou hardiesse,/ Je suis faict pour vous honnorer'.

21   On the metaphorical and practical use of donkeys, see Bough J., "The Mirror Has Two Faces: Contradictory Reflections on Donkeys in Western Literature from Lucius to Balthazar", *Animals* 1 (2011) 56–68.

22   Marche, *Mémoires* 153: 'Moult bien faictz'.

23   Hennecart was reimbursed directly for "fil, et aiguilles, à coudre testes de singes, de chièvres, de loup et de plusieurs autres ouvraiges molez"; Laborde L. *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts, et l'indiustrie pendant le XVe siècle*, vol. 2 part 2, (Paris: 1851) 367.

a trumpet, the guardian of the tower at the room's center commanded that
a *morisque* be danced to entertain the assembled guests. In response, a door
opened and seven actors dressed as monkeys emerged onto the tower's bal-
cony. Almost immediately they came upon a peddler sleeping beside his mer-
chandise. The first monkey then took and began to play a tambourine and flail,
the next grabbed a mirror, another a comb, until the merchant's goods had all
been seized. With their loot in hand, the thieving monkeys then performed the
demanded *morisque* around and around the tower, finally leaving as they had
come. Strikingly, at precisely this moment the tables were removed and the
audience became the spectacle as the assembled guests in turn began to dance
the remaining night away.

The *entremet* of the Monkeys and the Peddler blurs the boundary between
simians and humans in multiple ways. On the one hand, the monkeys act as
imitators of men. Some of this mimicry is relatively neutral: the lead monkey,
for example, pretends to be shocked when he first sees the assembled audience
much as the tower's guard had done when he entered the room at the begin-
ning of the banquet.[24] More of the monkeys' actions signal their assumed
degraded state, however: they are entranced by and cannot refrain from
purloining the very human possessions of the peddler. Although not always
combined, similar scenes of monkeys stealing, dancing, and handling mirrors
and combs were widespread in marginal imagery of the period and are usu-
ally taken as representations of the vanity and folly of earthly delights. The
morisque that the monkeys performed likewise fits neatly into the paradigm of
apishness as a sign of suspect humanity. In performing the recognizable steps
of an established dance, the monkeys appear to possess a humanlike ability to
intentionally structure their movements rather than simply react. Yet the loud
foot-tapping, sexual suggestion, and mimed aggression of *morisque* dancing
sat uneasily alongside the bodily decorum considered central to elite identity.
Courtiers might perform the *morisque*, but it was more closely associated with
mummers portraying exoticized and suspect groups from Moors to fools to
monstrous Wild Men.[25] The monkeys' dancing could therefore be taken, like
the lower class implements of the marmosets on the surrounding tables, as a
method of distinguishing them from their elite audience.

Yet at the end of the evening, it was the assembled courtiers who seem to
ultimately have succumbed to the allure of monkeying around as the tables
were cleared and they began dancing in the space so recently occupied by the

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24   Marche, *Mémoires* 151.
25   Hornback R., " 'Extravagant and Wheeling Strangers': Early Blackface Dancing Fools,
        Racial Impersonation, and the Limits of Identification", *Exemplaria* 20, 2 (2008) 197–223.

morisque. Since surviving documentation does not make clear what dances the courtiers performed, it is impossible to know whether movement underscored or denied the similarities between the two types of dancer: the shared space and close temporal proximity of the performances at the very least prompts potentially uncomfortable comparison between the two groups. Group dancing after dinner was commonplace in Burgundian court festivities, so that the juxtaposition of animal and human dancers draws unusual attention to this familiar pleasure's potentially degrading physicality and frivolity, qualities frequently condemned in simians. Though far less disastrous in its outcome, the linkage here between elite dancers and bestial performers may have reminded moralists of the infamous *Bal des ardents*, which was a topic of renewed interest at the Burgundian court during the years surrounding the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold.[26] At the *Bal des ardents*, the simian-like Wild Man costumes of several courtiers, including King Charles VI of France, caught fire while they danced, resulting in several deaths. Jean Froissart's account of this horrifying event suggests that it was seen by many as a warning to Charles VI to abandon 'young idle wantonness'.[27]

Yet while an unsympathetic viewer might condemn the intertwined spectacles of scripted monkeys and unscripted courtiers alike, the actual experience for the assembled guests was far more nuanced. As participants celebrating a marital alliance between two of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Western Europe, both guests and hosts were required to show their respect for the occasion through their magnificent display. As the donkeys' song suggests, the anthropomorphized animal *entremets* at the third night's banquet were meant to be gifts of delight and to bring honor just as were the more solemn performances of the heroic deeds of Hercules staged at the banquets on the second, fifth and eighth nights.[28] They did so in part through their humor. While laughter can serve to reinforce social hierarchies by being directed against a group's perceived adversaries or inferiors, the twin dances of monkeys and

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26   The known patrons of the nine surviving illustrated copies of Book IV are: Anthony, the Grand Bâtarde of Burgundy; Philippe de Commines, one-time servant of Philip the Good; Edward IV, Margaret of York's brother; Louis de Gruuthuse, Charles the Bold's stadtholder for Holland, Zeeland and Frisia and one of the principle ambassadors negotiating the marriage of Charles and Margaret of York; and the dukes of Burgundy themselves (owners identified by Stock L. K., "Froissart's *Chroniques* and Its Illustrators: Historicity and Ficticity in the Verbal and Visual Imaging of Charles VI's Bal des Ardents", *Studies in Iconography* 21 (2000) 123–180, 123–125).

27   Froissart J. *The Chronicles of Froissart*, ed. J. Bourchier (London: 1924) 421.

28   Marche, *Mémoires* 143–148, 166–174, 183–187.

courtiers at this banquet were equally likely to evoke the ambiguous laughter identified by Mikhail Bakhtin as a central feature of medieval humor, leading the courtiers to laugh simultaneously at the monkeys and at themselves, to at once deride and celebrate their own 'bestial' qualities, and in doing so perhaps to find pleasure in the momentary collapsing of their usual categories.[29]

As in the earlier donkey *entremet*, this pleasure in self-reflection is also found in the recognition given to the artifice required to stage the Monkeys and the Peddler, and to its parallels in elite self-fashioning. Olivier de la Marche's description of the monkeys' *morisque* explicitly reminds his readers of the technical skills that went into making these supposed animals: the monkeys are 'very well made after life, and inside their costumes had very good bodies and made good and novel turns'.[30] The monkeys are thus brought to life by both the mimetic skills of the costumers and the inventive bodies of their performers. The *entremet* itself traces the overlaps between the costumes of the actors and the clothing of the courtiers. A brief description of the *entremet* in the ducal payment records reveals that the merchant's goods consisted of 'colored stones, mirrors, ribbons, headscarves, and similar items', that is, the paraphernalia of fashionable dress.[31] Having first highlighted the clothing of human bodies by stripping the peddler, the monkey actors seized upon items used in the decoration of an attractive courtly body in the form of mirrors and accessories.[32] The staged disrobing and display of accessories is thus a synecdoche for the costuming activities required for both actors and audience.

Although he notes the realistic costuming of both the donkeys and the boars earlier in the evening, de la Marche's account of the monkeys places unusual emphasis on the abilities of the performers not only as musicians, but also as mimes who communicate through the medium of their bodies, a skill similarly prized in the elite dancers who followed them. The skill of the monkey playing the tambourine and flail offered a visible reminder of the labor providing the music to which both courtiers and monkeys danced, while at the same time the 'novel turns' of the simulated simians were paralleled with those of the dancers who followed them. The actors further combine human and bestial

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29   Bakhtin M. *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: 1984) 11–12.

30   Marche, *Mémoires* 154: 'moult bien faictz auprès du vif, et y avoit dedans l'abillement de très bons corps et qui faisoient de bons et nouveaulx tours'.

31   Laborde, *Ducs* 327: '[…] primes, miroir, aguillettes, huves et sembables […]'.

32   On the centrality of accessories for the medieval concept of fashion, see Heller S.-G. *Fashion in medieval France* (Cambridge: 2007). On the erotics of the same items, see Camille M. *The Medieval Art of Love: Subjects and Objects of Desire* (New York: 1998).

expressions, miming not only surprise, but also, according to de la Marche, 'the countenance of monkeys'.[33]

This emphasis on mimetic action is particularly fitting given the long-standing association of monkeys with imitation. Yet the fact that it is in reality humans who both simulate monkeys in the *entremets* and follow their lead in the dancing that follows leaves the final meaning of the evening's entertainments in a curiously unstable interpretive limbo; both man and animal seem equally open to celebration and concern. Zoomorphosis may have begun the evening as a condemnation of non-elites in the marmoset figurines, yet as animal after animal is swept up in courtly anthropomorphosis in the end it is the elite human guests who are encouraged to ponder and perhaps to find pleasure in probing their own potentially bestial natures, paradoxically linked with the hyper-civilized performance of their courtly personae.

Monkeying Around the *Monkey Cup*

A similar interest in drawing the viewer both physically and intellectually into the troubled relationship between artifice and anthropomorphosis animates the so-called Monkey Cup now in the Cloisters [Fig. 2.1]. Although its original cover has been lost, the Monkey Cup is recognizably a beaker or drinking vessel intended to be used in elite banqueting. In its current form it appears to be the result of two major stages of construction. In the first, the traditional beaker form is married to exceptional decorative luxury in the form of exquisite semi-grisaille painted enamel and metalwork. The technique as well as the style of its enamel figures suggests that the Monkey Cup was created in the second quarter of the fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish Burgundian cultural sphere for elite, although perhaps not local, consumption.[34] In the second stage of construction, a sixteenth-century Italian medallion was placed, perhaps as a repair, at the base of the cup's interior: while clearly post-dating the remainder of the cup in style, and likely originally conceived as a separate object, this new juxtaposition in many respects elaborated on the themes already at work in the Monkey Cup's enamels. Decorated fully in the round

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33   Marche, *Mémoires* 154: '[. . .] tenant countenance de cinges [. . .]'.

34   Baumstark R. (ed.), *Schatzkammerstücke aus der Herbstzeit des Mittelalters: Das Regensburger Email Kästchen und sein Umkreis* (Munich: 1992); Warburg A., "Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century (1905)" in Forster K. (ed.) *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, trans. D. Britt (Los Angeles: 1999) 275–280, 277.

both internally and externally, the Monkey Cup's multiple scenes gain peculiar and compelling resonances when seen in terms of their programmed unveiling in the course of the cup's handling and use. Particularly when considered as an object in action, the Monkey Cup prompts reflection on the boundaries between human and animal, creation and reception, in both elite identity and artistic production.

The fifteenth-century painted enamel exterior of the Monkey Cup most closely resembles a contemporary manuscript margin given three-dimensional form: densely ornamented with endlessly interlocking stylized foliage, it teems with monkeys and human trifles. As the viewer's hand turns and the eye moves unceasingly around this busy surface, the only clearly demarcated areas in which to pause and rest are three scenes near the bottom separated by the curve of the cup. Two of these lower scenes show monkeys at the base handing a range of human goods from combs to sword belts to musical instruments to their fellows perched in the branches above: in one vignette they pull items from a large sack, in the other the precise source of their loot lies just around the corner out of sight.

The original owner of the purloined objects is revealed on the third side [Fig. 2.2]. There, the scene centers on a peddler, in the form of a young red-haired man who lies with his small white dog at his side near the cup's base.

FIGURE 2.2   *South Netherlandish, Beaker ("Monkey Cup") (ca. 1425–50 with additions). Silver, silver gilt, enamel, overall 20 × 11.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, 1952 (52.20). Detail of sleeping peddler. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.*

The peddler is arranged according to the conventions for depicting sleepers: propped up on his side with his left leg partially folded, his body is displayed at full-length to the viewer's gaze while his white face rests cupped in his left hand. Both he and his dog are remarkably oblivious to the troupe of Barbary apes surrounding them in a rough semicircle. The four monkeys are engaged in a variety of acts of desecration and revelation. Two are paired at the man's head. The one to the farthest right removes the peddler's hat to display and brush his curly red hair while another monkey grooms the revealed hair in a manner suggestive of real simians and appears to sample a louse he has found there. Two more are placed at the peddler's feet: one neatly strips off the sleeper's hose while the other motions to his companions to come look as he begins to peel back the bottom of the man's patterned tunic.

Although this scene clearly belongs within the larger group of the Monkeys and the Peddler imagery, the compositional arrangement might recall other thematically similar motifs. A stalk of acanthus emerges from the sleeping peddler to fill the space above, evoking such images of male generation as the Tree of Jesse and, even more directly, the opening of the *Roman de la rose*. Perhaps the single most popular non-devotional text of the late Middle Ages, the *Roman de la rose* recounts a dream in which the narrator (called the Lover) pursues the titular Rose, with whom he became infatuated when he saw her reflected back at him in the pool of Narcissus.[35] The Rose is arguably at once a separate being and a part of the Lover's own imagination, an ambiguous state encapsulated by the many depictions of the poem's opening in which the narrator is shown asleep in his bed, a rose vine sprouting from his side [Fig. 2.3]. Emerging like Eve from the side of Adam, the stylized roses simultaneously represent both the beloved Rose and the poetic text of the *Roman de la rose* as a whole.

The Monkey Cup's boughs are far more active than the static roses as their simian inhabitants look into mirrors, dress up, clutch swords, and play a wide range of musical instruments [Fig. 2.1]. While they may perhaps begin in the mind of the sleeping peddler, the monkeys' antics nevertheless take on a life and independent creativity of their own. A similar ambiguity infects the four monkeys who surround the peddler's body. Intent on robbing him in a manner believed natural to apes, they nevertheless start on closer examination to strangely resemble their human prey, sharing his broad white face and simple curling ears, long-palmed hands and, in the case of the monkey on the far left, even his head of curly red hair. The boundary between reality and dream, man

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35   Lorris G. de – Meun J. de *Le Roman de la rose*, ed. A. Strubel (Paris: 1992) 110–125 ll 1423–1699.

FIGURE 2.3 *Paris, The Lover dreaming, from Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun's* Roman de la rose (*ca. 1335*). *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale* MS *9576 fol. 1.*

and monkey begins to unravel. Are the monkeys humanlike makers of music and appearances, or are they merely made to appear human by the peddler's imagination? Whether real or dreamed, is their anthropomorphism amusing or threatening as it erodes the distinction between human and animal?

These ambiguities are made ever more personal as the Monkey Cup not only invites its viewer to witness the peddler's dream but simultaneously works to engage and challenge its user's mind and body. The detailed, densely arranged figures of the small monkeys with their variety of poses and goods draw one in, inviting physical closeness but also encouraging the eye to flit from one figure to the next. The extended scene that covers the cup's glistening exterior requires the viewer to turn its smooth curved surface in order to be seen in full. The continually intertwined branches lead the gaze while the spacing of figures ensures that any single view includes a monkey partially obscured along the rounded edge. Unlike the contemporary manuscript pages in the margins of which similar pairings of simians and foliage appear, the Monkey Cup has no clear center, but rather invites an endlessly circular, wandering handling and viewing.

Just as the subject of monkeys was at times linked with the sin of *curiositas*, so too the design of the Monkey Cup corresponds closely with many of the qualities Christopher Wood has identified in 'curious' descriptive painting of this period: an unruly composition based in the multiplication of small units, rich ornamentation, glistening surface, the proliferation of marginal details, and a centrifugal motion.[36] The type of viewing required by the Monkey Cup indeed closely aligns with that condemned as 'curious' by monastic authors, as the mind 'veers hither and yon by the hour, and by the minute is prey to outside influences and is endlessly the prisoner of what strikes it first'.[37] Although stylistically distinct from the paintings of artists such as van Eyck on which Wood focuses, the Monkey Cup's composition likewise draws attention to the fact that it is an ornamented luxury object: more elegant than the peddler's goods depicted on it, like them the Monkey Cup calls out to the curious viewer to be touched and explored, inviting both sensual pleasure and attention to its status as a product of human hands.

Late medieval condemnations of curiosity are largely mobilized against its appearance in expressly devotional contexts: in court display, curiosity's expense and refinement might be more positively valued as signs of wealth and taste. Yet the Monkey Cup troubles any simple assimilation of curiosity to courtliness. Even as viewers are encouraged by the dense ornament to repeatedly

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36   Wood, "Curious Pictures" esp. 333–42.

37   Carruthers, quoting the late antique monk Abba Moses (*Craft* 82).

turn, fondle, and peer at the seductive object, they are confronted by the over-
lap between the motions and sensations they experience and the very similar
actions undertaken by the morally compromised monkeys that caress, display,
and otherwise engage fashionable objects before their eyes. In handling the
Monkey Cup in the manner it seems to require, the viewer in effect mimics the
pawing of the (clearly law-breaking) pictured monkeys.

If filled with the wine normally served at Burgundian banquets, moreover,
the Monkey Cup's practical function as a serving vessel likewise tempts users to
personally inhabit the no-man's land between animal and human. In the wide-
spread Aristotelian ethical tradition, the allure of intemperance—defined as
over-indulgence in sensual pleasures—was epitomized by the connoisseur
who wished he had a neck like a crane's with which to enjoy the texture of
wine, a bit of zoomorphic longing typical of the vice Aristotle claimed was
most likely to lower humans to the level of beasts.[38] A tale current at the Valois
Burgundian court located a biblical reference for the zoomorphic properties of
wine. According to the *Ci nous dit*, when inventing viniculture Noah watered
his vines with the blood of five animals, each of which endowed it with a bes-
tial trait: monkeys, for instance, infected wine and wine drinkers with their
cleverness.[39] While drinking itself is not pictured among the many monkey
pleasures on the cup, the addition of curling grape vine tendrils surrounding
the scene of the sleeping peddler on the exterior hints at the possible connec-
tion between his apish imagination and the wine contained within [Fig. 2.2].

In addition to the possible connections between drunkenness and the
assumption of simian characteristics, the real use of wine inside the Monkey
Cup hints at parallels between monkeys and courtiers. Much as the monkeys
steadily strip the sleeping peddler in order to reuse his goods, the drinker sip
by sip reveals the delicate interior decoration covered by the wine within
[Fig. 2.4]. Drinking gradually uncovers the registers of imagery on the cup's
interior, which unlike the exterior is arranged in regular circles that mimic the
water line of the filling liquid. First, rows of pointed trees much like those that
appear only at the ground level of the exterior to either side of the sleeping
peddler come into view. As the wine level recedes ever further this conifer-
ous forest becomes the stalking ground of several monkeys armed with bows
and accompanied by specially-bred white hunting dogs, which chase a multi-
pointed stag, one of the most elite of all game animals. While other species,
including monkeys, do indeed hunt in the wild, the civilized manner in which
the pictured monkeys set about their task explicitly marks their hunt as an

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38   Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, trans. R. W. Browne (London: 1889) 82.

39   Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 9017 fol. 105.

FIGURE 2.4   *South Netherlandish, Beaker ("Monkey Cup") (ca. 1425–50*
             with additions). Silver, silver gilt, enamel, overall
             20 × 11.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The
             Cloisters, 1952 (52.20). Detail of interior. Image copyright
             © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art
             Resource, NY.

anthropomorphic exercise in mock courtly behavior.[40] In contrast to the lar-
cenous monkeys on the exterior, which might arguably be classed with the
peddler as social inferiors, these hunting monkeys are expressly aristocratic,
a final and even more pointed reminder of the overlaps between courtier
and ape staged in the imagery and performance of the Monkey Cup enamels
as a whole.

   The fifteenth-century enamels of the Monkey Cup present its holder
with conflicting messages. On the one hand, the elaborately detailed design
invites sensual enjoyment even as it encourages a wandering gaze: the varying

40   On this motif as a critique of secular ritual in manuscript marginalia, see Wirth, *Les*
     marges 181–97.

compositional arrangements of the exterior and interior reward turning and drinking alike. On the other hand, the implicit invitation to laugh at the depictions of monkeys doing human activities—many similar to what the courtly user either does habitually (hunting) or is doing at the moment (playing with luxury goods)—troubles the humanity of engaging in such activities. To handle the Monkey Cup is to be very directly confronted with the paradoxical requirements surrounding aesthetic appreciation and proper conduct in late medieval courts, where both extreme asceticism and unchecked hedonism were equally censured. Rather than providing a misleadingly simple answer to these complex issues, the Monkey Cup instead articulates and stages them for its audience, allowing each individual to rise above the unreflective simian in order to find his or her own thoughtful response.

In its mid-fifteenth-century form, the Monkey Cup thus focused its users' attention on the moral standing, indeed the humanity, of aesthetic pleasures and connoisseurship practices that were integral to courtly display. The continued importance of apes in general and the Monkey Cup in particular as tools for thinking about the processes of representation and reception are underscored by the cup's alteration later in the Early Modern period. The cup's interior bottom today is completely covered by a round gilded medallion in a late-sixteenth-century Italianate style [Fig. 2.5]. On it, a tall, armor-clad and magnificently helmeted woman holding a spear crowns a seated, nude man with a laurel wreath. Marked not only by her martial clothing but also through the accompanying attribute of an owl, and what appears to be a loom frame and compass to the left, the woman is almost certainly the goddess Athena/Minerva; her male companion's burning forge, hammer, and the coin he considers in his upraised hand suggest that he is Hephaestus/Vulcan. While they were never successful lovers, Athena and Hephaestus were frequently paired in mythology as the goddess and god of the civilized arts.

Although the pairing of these two gods makes intuitive sense, the precise mythological source for the scene shown at the bottom of the Monkey Cup is obscure, suggesting that they appear primarily as personifications rather than characters. Minerva clearly celebrates Vulcan's skill specifically as god of fire and metalwork, as he not only sits on his active forge with hammer in hand but also holds up a round medallion, a *mise-en-abyme* reference to the medallion on which the entire scene appears. The connection between the pictured medallion and Vulcan's supremacy is highlighted by its prominent placement in his raised hand along the line of sight between god and goddess and at the end of the strong diagonal of Minerva's arm, which terminates in the upraised circle of the laurel wreath. The inscription underscores this relationship between victor's wreath and medal, reading 'artibus qui sita

gloria', which might be translated, 'who has established the glory of the arts?'
The image seems unequivocally to answer, 'Vulcan', although Vulcan is evoked
here not in a devotional but a figurative sense. Literally cast in the classical
language of Renaissance art, personification here embodies abstract concepts
in the figures of pagan gods, allowing their aggressively mimetic human bod-
ies to express the elevation of artistic virtuosity. Indeed, a similar relief forms
the reverse of Antonio Abondio's medal for the architect and medalist Jacopo
da Trezzo, in which the closely related inscription 'artibus quaesita gloria'
praises 'fame acquired through art' while Vulcan, hammer raised to represent
Trezzo's sculptural skill, is surrounded by such signs of architectural practice
as a compass and plumb-line in honor of Trezzo's achieved architectural feats
at the Escorial.[41]

41   Reproduced in *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, ed. Scher S. (New
     York: 1994) 170. I would like to thank Arne Flaten and Simon Scher for bringing this medal
     to my attention, and discussing the Monkey Cup's alterations with me.

Likely conceived without the Monkey Cup in mind, the medallion and its classical figures nevertheless relate in interesting ways to their new setting. Where the original curious composition might direct attention towards the ingenuity of the Monkey Cup's design, the medallion highlights the technical expertise that went into its making: the praise of the fire god Vulcan applies equally to the glittering metal of the medallion and the cool colors of the surrounding enamels, both forged in flame despite their quite different appearances. On a thematic level, the mischievous antics of the monkeys provide a humorous counterpart to the solemn celebration of skilled making on the medallion. Where medieval commentators had seen parallels between too-worldly humans and monkeys' imperfect imitative actions, the stylistic shift towards naturalism in the sixteenth century led to the increasing use of the monkey as an alter ego for the visual artist.[42] The connection between Vulcan, monkeys, and artistry received particular textual support from Giovanni Boccaccio's popular *De Geneologia Deorum*, in which Boccaccio canonized a late medieval belief that Vulcan was raised by monkeys after Jupiter threw him from Olympus.[43] For Boccaccio, apes are appropriate caretakers for the child Vulcan because of their natural desire to imitate: since Vulcan's fire is what enables craft, those who desire to create must likewise nurture fire.

The monkeys' mimicry of human activity on the Monkey Cup hovers uneasily between providing a contrast to and a personification of the artistic practices that are literally deified in the medallion's highly mimetic representation. At the same time, something of the jocularity of the cup as a whole infects even the serious medallion within. As the foster family for Vulcan and possible allegories for artists, the larcenous monkeys cast some doubt on the probity of both mankind and the god of fire, making a viewer wonder, who indeed are these founders of mimetic art's glory? Hidden until the cup was fully drained and peered closely into, the densely packed composition itself might even turn teasing as the originally laudatory inscription 'artibus qui sita gloria' could more metaphorically be translated 'who has buried the glory of the arts'. Such an allusion to the medallion's occluded placement beneath the capering monkeys and wine at once refers to and seems to poke fun at the more negative readings of that frequent Early Modern art theoretical trope, *ars simia naturae*.

Both in its original state and after the addition of the medallion within it, the Monkey Cup involves the viewer in its mixture of anthropomorphosis, imagination, and creativity. The outer scene of the Monkey and the Peddler

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42   Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 287–325.

43   Ibidem 291–2. While Boccaccio's text was composed in the fifteenth-century, Janson locates the shift towards identifying monkeys with artists as a largely sixteenth-century development in Northern Europe.

sets its tale of simian larceny in an ambiguous realm between dream and reality in which the monkeys' human desires may indeed be no more than the dream of the man they appear to attack. Just as these dream-like simians strip away the man's clothing in order to reveal his similarity to them, so too the cup's potential drinker-viewer may take on an apish wit from the wine while being drawn ever further into the monkeys' activities in the external and internal decoration. With the later addition of the Minerva and Vulcan medallion at its center, the Monkey Cup acquired a new range of potential meanings as the personification of concepts through the Greco-Roman pantheon was juxtaposed with the anthropomorphosis of animals. Combining the solemn praise of high art with the inversions of monkeys as connoisseurs and anti-models, the Monkey Cup prompts questions rather than providing answers, inviting its users to investigate the porous boundaries between human and simian in the evolving discourses of late medieval and Early Modern visual art.

The Monkey in the Middle

Seen in conjunction, the Monkey Cup and *entremets* for the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold show something of the range of functions that anthropomorphosis could perform as a source of amusement, political propaganda, and especially the thought-provoking enjoyment of artistic skill. In both, the figure of the monkey is repeatedly read in human terms not to make sense of actual simian behavior but rather to understand the imitative impulses of mankind. Precisely because real monkeys might mimic human actions, the image of the monkey served as a useful figure for thinking about the fragile border separating the projection of human qualities onto animals and the projection of animal qualities onto humanity. Late medieval and Early Modern audiences might locate the distinction between humans and other species in human rationality, beauty, and proper deportment, yet it is precisely these arenas which the *entremet* of the Monkeys and the Peddler and the Monkey Cup populate with simian doubles.[44] In each case, viewers are explicitly implicated in the unstable alternation between man and ape. Performance and cup alike employ humor and beauty to invite pleasure, participation, and reflection on both artistry and its appreciation. Endlessly oscillating between

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44   Apes of course remain central to debates surrounding animal reasoning today: for the
       pre-modern discussion see Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* 75–89.

anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, the figure of the monkey reveals not only the indelible link between these two states, but also the delights and questions to be found between them.

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Landscape and Body in Rabelais's *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*

Paul J. Smith

One of the major comical devices of the five novels by François Rabelais on the giants Gargantua and Pantagruel lies in the author's continuous reversal of traditional literary themes and conventions. This also applies to the age-old anthropomorphisation of space, according to which, for instance, a landscape is represented as a human body. Rabelais gives a straightforward example of this simile between landscape and body in a brief description of a barren landscape, where the naked rocks are the body's bones: 'la terre est si maigre que les os (ce sont rocs) luy persent la peau: areneuse, sterile, mal saine, et mal plaisante'.[1] This is only one of the numerous examples of Rabelais's preoccupation with the relationship between space and body. In order to analyse Rabelais's comical, often alienating use of this traditional simile, it is important to come to a working typology of the different ways this theme manifests itself in French Renaissance literature.

Towards a Typology of Space-Body Relations in Renaissance Literature

In Renaissance literature the anthropomorphisation of space in its diverse dimensions and perspectives—from the small-scale, visible, and physical landscape to the larger-scale and much more abstract spatial forms, such as they are seen from the standpoints of chorography, topography, cosmography, and cosmology—often adopts the form of a trope, more specifically a comparison (simile) or a metaphor.[2] Early modern French poetry gives some well-known

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1   Rabelais F., *Œuvres complètes*, ed. M. Huchon (Paris: 1994) 748.

2   This article will not problematise the concepts of *comparison* (or *simile*) and *metaphor*. I adopt the working definition of both concepts as formulated in Shaw M. L., *The Cambridge Introduction to French Poetry* (Cambridge: 2003) 76: 'More ambiguous than the simile [or comparison], which explicitly designates a similarity between two terms ["through an explicit term such as 'like' or 'as' (in French, '*comme*', '*pareil à*')"; see ibidem 211], metaphor makes an implicit comparison; it either associates a figurative word with a literal one on the basis of resemblance, or substitutes the former for the latter ("feu" for "amour")'.

examples of these anthropomorphising metaphors. In one of his sonnets from
Les Antiquitez de Rome (1558), the Pléiade poet Joachim du Bellay compares, by
way of a metaphor, a particular part of a landscape—namely, an undulating
field of ripened wheat—to a fair maiden's hair: 'Les ondoyants cheveux du sil-
lon blondissant'—an image reinforced by the very dense iconicity of repetitive
sounds (vowels and consonants: /õd/, /y/, /i/, /s/, /ã/) and sememes (all nouns
have the sememe /hair/ in common). In another example from the same col-
lection, now on a chorographical scale, Rome is compared to a giant who was
slain by Jupiter as a punishment for his pride and was pinned down by the
city's seven hills—actions that took place and are described in the order of
the traditional description of the human body—from head to feet—an order
further structured by rhyme (Satur*nale*/Quiri*nale*; C*élienne*/Exqui*lienne*), syn-
tactic parallelism in the two tercets, and syntactic chiasm (A*BB*A: /Vinimal/*sur
un pied*/*sur l'autre*/l'Aventin) in the final verse:

> Jupiter ayant peur, si plus elle croissait,
> Que l'orgueil des Géants se relevât encore,
> L'accabla sous ces monts, ces sept monts qui sont ore
> Tombeaux de la grandeur qui le ciel menaçait.
>
> Il lui mit sur le chef la croupe Saturnale,
> Puis dessus l'estomac assit la Quirinale,
> Sur le ventre il planta l'antique Palatin,
>
> Mit sur la dextre main la hauteur Célienne,
> Sur la senestre assist l'échine Exquilienne,
> Viminal sur un pied, sur l'autre l'Aventin.

For an example of a metaphor on the much larger scale of cosmography,
and even that of cosmology, one can cite Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas's
description of the Pyrenees, described as an enormous giant with one foot in
the Atlantic Ocean and the other in the Mediterranean Sea, and further ite-
mised in the metaphorisation of his other body parts: arms, head, hair, bones,
and sweat:

> Passant, ce que tu vois n'est point une montagne:
> C'est un grand Briarée, un géant haut monté
> Qui garde ce passage, et défend, indomté,
> De l'Espagne la France, et de France l'Espagne.

> Il tend à l'une l'un, à l'autre l'autre bras,
> Il porte sur son chef l'antique faix d'Atlas,
> Dans deux contraires mers il pose ses deux plantes.
> Les espaisses forests sont ses cheveux espais;
> Les rochers sont ses os; les rivières bruyantes
> L'éternelle sueur que luy cause un tel faix.[3]

In his brief but seminal article "Le paysage anthropomorphe", Fernand Hallyn indicates how in this poem Du Bartas rewrites Ovid's *Metamorphoses* IV, 657–661: 'Atlas was changed into a mountain as huge as the giant he had been. His beard and hair were turned into trees, his hands and shoulders were mountain ridges, and what had been his head was now the mountain top. His bones became rock'. The descriptor's perspective then changes rapidly from landscape to cosmology: 'Then, expanding in all dimensions, he increased to a tremendous size—such was the will of the gods—and the whole sky with its many stars rested upon him'.[4]

There is, however, one major difference, not touched upon by Hallyn, between Ovid's metamorphosis of Atlas and Du Bartas's description of the Pyrenees: in the case of Du Bartas, space is *compared* to a body, whereas in Ovid's version space *is* body, Atlas being transformed into landscape. At the end of this section, we will return to this essential distinction between similarity and identity.

And, finally, the whole world can be compared to an animated body, human or animal, as is clear from another example quoted by Hallyn, this time from Nicholas of Cusa's *De docta ignorantia*:

> [The] earth is an animal, so to speak, according to Plato. It has stones in place of bones, rivers in place of veins, trees in place of hair; and there are animals which are fostered within its hair, just as worms are fostered in the hair of animals.[5]

In the above-mentioned examples, the *comparandum* or *tenor* is space (or one of its manifestations), whereas the *comparans* or *vehicle* is the human body,

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3 Example quoted by Hallyn F., "Le Paysage anthropomorphe", in Giraud Y. (ed.), *Le Paysage à la Renaissance* (Fribourg: 1988) 43–54 (44).

4 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. M. M. Innes (Harmondsworth: 1955) 111.

5 Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia*, trans. J. Hopkins, http://jasper-hopkins.info/DI-II-12-2000.pdf (date of consultation 27 December 2013).

or one or more of its parts.[6] However, this metaphorical construction is frequently reversed, with the body becoming the tenor, and space (mostly on the scale of the landscape) becoming the vehicle. This *spatialisation* of the body can especially be seen in the love poetry of the Pléiade. Thus, in their imitations of Ariosto's description of the beautiful Alcina, Joachim du Bellay resembles his friend Pierre de Ronsard in their descriptions of a girl's bosom, with both of them describing her body as a landscape—a familiar one (the Loire Valley) in the case of Du Bellay, and a strongly eroticised, paradisiacal one in the case of Ronsard:

> Du Bellay:
> Ce val d'albastre, & ces couteaux d'ivoire,
> Qui vont ainsi comme les flotz de Loire
> Au lent soupir d'un zephire adoulci [...][7]

> Ronsard:
> Ces flots jumeaux de laict bien espoissi
> Vont et revont par leur blanche valée,
> Comme à son bord la marine sale,
> Qui lente va, lente revient aussi.
>
> Une distance entre eux se fait, ainsi
> Qu'entre deux monts une sente égalée,
> Blanche par tout de neige devalue,
> Quand en hyver le vent s'est adouci.
>
> [...] Et la beauté, si quelqu'une est au monde,
> Vole au sejour de ce beau paradis.[8]

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6   For the reader's convenience, we adopt the working definitions of tropes and other style figures as they are given in Shaw, *The Cambridge Introduction to French Poetry*: A *metaphor* is 'a *trope* substituting a figurative word (the *vehicle* or *comparant*) for a literal one (the *tenor* or *compare*) on the basis of resemblance' (ibidem 209). A *trope* is 'a figure that changes or extends the literal meaning of a word to a figurative one' (ibidem 211). The *tenor* (*comparé*) is 'the thing which is being compared in a metaphor or other comparison' (ibidem 211). The *vehicle* (*comparant*) is 'the thing to which the *tenor* (*comparé*) of a metaphor or other comparison is being compared' (ibidem 211).

7   Quoted by Weber H., *La Création poétique au XVIᵉ siècle en France, de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris: 1955) 266.

8   Quoted by Smith D., "Milk and Honey: The Beloved as Promised Land in Ronsard's *Amours*", *Dalhousie French Studies* 84 (2008) 3–12.

Not only the body, but also the mind and its various states can be compared to a landscape. One thinks, for instance, of Charles d'Orléans's well-known ballad, in which he compares his melancholic state of mind, caused by his long captivity as a royal hostage, to an endless journey he made through an allegorised 'Forest de Longue Attente', with, as a resting place, 'l'hôtellerie de Pensée', located in 'la cité de Destinée':

> En la forest de Longue Actente
> Chevauchant par divers sentiers
> M'en voys, ceste annee presente,
> Au voyage de Desiriers.
> Devant sont allez mes fourriers
> Pour appareiller mon logeis
> En la cité de Destinee;
> Et pour mon cuer et moy ont pris
> L'hostellerie de Pensee.[9]

This allegorised landscape fits in with a long tradition, of which the 12th-century *Roman de la Rose* is one of the major examples. The lover's quest is a voyage through a large garden that represents the rules of the codified *amour courtois* and is full of personifications of courtly virtues and anti-courtly vices. On the larger scale of chorography, a similar, sophisticated example can be found in the geography of love in the 17th-century *Carte de Tendre*, which visualised the stages of love according to the doctrine of the Préciosité. La *Carte de Tendre* is the map of a country, called *Tendre* (Love), which represents the rivers of *Estime* and *Reconnaissance*, the cities of *Jolis-Vers*, *Billet-galant*, and *Billet-doux*, and some dangerous places, such as the *Lac d'Indifférence*, into which the lover had better not fall.

In the early modern period, the relationship between space (especially landscape) and body is not always metaphorical. Landscape can be a result of *anthropisation*—i.e., a man-shaped landscape—not only in the usual, 'euphoric' form of a cultivated or built-over landscape, but also in the 'dysphoric' form of a landscape *misshaped*, 'wounded', or otherwise affected by man. A spectacular, well-known, and real world example of such an affected landscape is the so-called *Brèche Roland*, a natural but very eye-catching incision in the cliffs of the Cirque de Gavarnie in the Pyrenees that was caused, according to popular belief, by Roland, who was trying in vain to destroy his sword Durendal after the lost Battle of Roncevaux (778 AD). It is this kind of

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9   Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. P. Champion (Paris: 1966) 165.

popular, fantastic anthropisation—which belongs, in fact, to etiological myth-making (etiological myths explain the origins of phenomena [mostly abnormal ones] in the natural world, as well as the origins of proper names)—that will play a major, albeit parodied, role in the works of Rabelais: as we shall see, his giants leave their permanent traces on the landscape wherever they go.

Just as the anthropomorphised space has its counterpart in the spatialisation of the body, anthropisation also has an inverse counterpart: not only can space be passively affected by man, it can also actively affect man. Examples of this spatial impact on man are legion in literature—they mostly go back, directly or indirectly, to Hippocrates's influential treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*. In a telling passage from this treatise, Hippocrates explains what we would now call *environmental determinism*: landscape (or rather climate and soil) determines the physical and psychological disposition of its inhabitants, and makes them resemble the landscape itself. Therefore, a country with a diverse landscape endows its inhabitants with varied characters and body shapes, corresponding to the type of landscape they inhabit:

> But concerning those on the right hand of the summer risings of the sun as far as the Palus Maeotis (for this is the boundary of Europe and Asia), it is with them as follows: the inhabitants there differ far more from one another than those I have treated of above, owing to the differences of the seasons and the nature of the soil. But with regard to the country itself, matters are the same there as among all other men; for where the seasons undergo the greatest and most rapid changes, there the country is the wildest and most unequal; and you will find the greatest variety of mountains, forests, plains, and meadows; but where the seasons do not change much there the country is the most even; and, if one will consider it, so is it also with regard to the inhabitants; for the nature of some is like to a country covered with trees and well watered; of some, to a thin soil deficient in water; of others, to fenny and marshy places; and of some again, to a plain of bare and parched land. For the seasons which modify their natural frame of body are varied, and the greater the varieties of them the greater also will be the differences of their shapes.[10]

The above-sketched typology of (a) *spatial anthropomorphism*, (b) *bodily spatialisation*, (c) *anthropisation*, and (d) *environmental determinism* is, of course, no more than a modern, retrospective construct, set up in order to get a grasp

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10   Hippocrates, *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, trans. F. Adams, http://classics.mit.edu/
       Hippocrates/airwatpl.mb.txt (date of consultation 27 December 2013).

on the different relationships between space and body in Renaissance liter-
ature. In the (world)view of most Renaissance men, the relationships of (a)
and (b) probably would be explained in terms of *aemulatio* (similitude based
upon reflexion), whereas (d) could be explained according to the notion of
convenientia (similitude based on proximity).[11] Furthermore, according to this
same contemporary worldview, there is a chance that several of the above-
mentioned examples of similitude are not considered as mere manifesta-
tions of *resemblance* between space and body, but of sheer *identity*: space is
not only similar to a body, but *is* a body. In the following example, taken from
Agrippa d'Aubigné's description of the end of the world, the sky is presented as
(or simply *is*) an enormous body in agony:

> Voici la mort du ciel en l'effort douloureux
> Qui lui noircit la bouche et fait saigner les yeux.
> Le ciel gémit d'ahan, tous ses nerfs se retirent,
> Ses poumons près à près sans relâche respirent.

The body of the world will die because the sun, its heart, stops beating.

> Et, comme un corps humain est tout mort terrassé
> Dès que du moindre coup au cœur il est blessé,
> Ainsi faut que le monde et meure et se confonde
> Dès la moindre blessure au soleil, cœur du monde.

Although in this example the world is not identical to a *human* body (because
it is compared to it: 'comme un corps humain'), it is an animated body. From
this equation of space and body, the path to an animist cosmology is rapidly
set. According to Ronsard's *Hymne du Ciel*, the cosmos is a body into which
God had breathed life.[12] In an apostrophe to the cosmos, the poet addresses

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11   See Foucault M., *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: 1966)
     32–59 ("La prose du monde").

12   Since the publication of a seminal article by Varga A. K., "Poésie et cosmologie au XVIe
     siècle", in *Lumières de la Pléiade* (Paris: 1966) 135–165, the Pléiade's, and, more specifically,
     Ronsard's, cosmology and their (neo)platonic and stoic sources have been given much
     attention: see, for instance, Quainton M., *Ronsard's Ordered Chaos. Visions of Flux and
     Stability in the Poetry of Pierre de Ronsard* (Manchester: 1980); Pantin I., *La poésie du ciel en
     France dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle* (Geneva: 1995); and Pouey-Mounou A. P.,
     L'imaginaire cosmologique de Ronsard (Geneva: 2002).

this *anima mundi* (in which he takes care implicitly to separate God from His vital breath, thus avoiding the heretical danger of cosmologist pantheism):

> L'esprit de l'Eternel, qui avance ta course
> Espandu dedans toy, comme une vive source
> De tous costez t'anime, et donne mouvement.[13]

The four-part typology we developed above and which we enlarged with the idea of animist cosmology, provides us with the necessary tools to turn to Rabelais.

Rabelais: Space and Body

The best-known simile between space and body in the work of Rabelais is the portrait given by Frère Jean of his friend Panurge, who is beginning to turn grey and should fear for his virility—a fear comically denied by Panurge. In portraying his friend, Frère Jean changes scale, from cosmography to chorography and landscape:

> Desjà voy je ton poil grisonner en teste. Ta barbe par les distinctions du gris, du blanc, du tanné, et du noir, me semble une Mappemonde. Reguarde icy. Voy là Asie. Icy sont Tigris et Euphrates. Voy là Afrique. Icy est la montaigne de la Lune. Voydz tu les paluz du Nil? Deçà est Europe. Voydz tu Theleme? Ce touppet icy tout blanc, sont les mons Hyperborées. Par ma soif mon amy, quand les neiges sont es montaignes : je diz la teste et le menton, il n'y a pas grand chaleur par les valées de la braguette.

Panurge, of course, does not agree, and he ripostes:

> Tes males mules (respondit Panurge). Tu n'entends pas les Topiques. Quand la neige est sus les montaignes: la fouldre, l'esclair, les lanciz, le mau bec, le rouge grenat, le tonnoirre, la tempeste, tous les Diables, sont par les vallées. En veulx tu veoir l'experience? Va on pays de Souisse : et consydere le lac de Wunderberlich à quatre lieues de Berne, tirant vers Sion.[14]

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13   Ronsard P. de, *Œuvres complètes* vol. II, ed. J. Céard – D. Ménager – M. Simonin (Paris: 1994) 510.

14   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 438.

This example shows us not only the comical effects of bodily spatialisation, but it also betrays indirectly the anthropomorphising way Rabelais and his characters look at maps and landscapes. Rabelais's vision transforms a mappemonde into a human face, and a mountain landscape into a human body. It is this two-way *fantasia* comparing or otherwise relating body to space and space to body that is the basis for an important theme in Rabelais's work.

Another spectacular example of bodily spatiality can be found in the final episode of the *Pantagruel*, which narrates the illness of the titular hero and his miraculous recovery. Pantagruel is cured by way of a drastic purgation that will save his life. He absorbs seventeen copper 'pillules'—a 'pillule' being a sort of diving bell—for the transport of a team of workers equipped with torches, picks, and shovels, in order to purge the giant's stomach. They descend through the giant's body for half a mile and arrive in a 'goulphre horrible', which is compared to other infected places known from cosmography: 'puant, et infect plus que Mephitis, ny la palus Camarine, ny le punays lac de Sorbone, duquel escript Strabo'[15]—Rabelais, as an anti-Sorbonne humanist, cannot resist changing Strabo's *Sarbonne* into *Sorbon[n]e*, just as Erasmus and Budé did before him. The workers come across a 'montjoye d'ordure' (*montjoye* is a heap of stones used as a marker in a landscape), and they begin to dig and 'unrock' the place (Rabelais uses the word *desrocher*, i.e. clear rocks from the place of rocks).

Other examples of bodily spatialisation or spatial anthropomorphism solely based on similitude are rather scarce in Rabelais's books. They are mostly reduced to brief and simple metaphors: the term *montifère* is used to qualify the hunchbacked Aesop,[16] and the word *abysme* is used to indicate the didactic ideal of encyclopaedic knowledge—to become an 'abysme de science'.[17] The earth ('Terre') is very conventionally called 'Mère', because as 'l'alme et grande mere' she gives us 'le doulx, le desyré, le dernier embrassement [...], lequel nous appellons Sepulture'.[18] Indeed, most cases of relationship between body and space are not (or not only) based upon similitude.

Whereas in the examples of Panurge's beard and Pantagruel's stomach the relationship between body and space is essentially based on similitude, this is not the case in the descent through Pantagruel's mouth, famous since Erich Auerbach's chapter on "Die Welt in Pantagruels Mund".[19] Indeed, the 'other

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15   Ibidem 335.

16   Ibidem 218.

17   Ibidem 245.

18   Ibidem 499.

19   Auerbach E., *Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Bern: 1946) chap. XI.

world' the narrator Alcofrybas finds in the giant's mouth after walking two miles on the giant's tongue,[20] is not simply the vehicle of a comparison, but a 'reality'. The terms of comparison (2 × 'comme'; 1 × 'non moins . . . que') do not connect body to space, but space to space.

> Je y cheminoys comme l'on faict en Sophie à Constantinoble, et y veiz de grands rochiers, comme les mons des Dannoys, je croy que c'estoient ses dentz, et de grands prez, de grandes forestz, de fortes et grosses villes non moins grandes que Lyon ou Poictiers.[21]

Curiously, the towns, comparable to Rouen and Nantes, are named after the anatomical parts of the human mouth (Aspharage, Laringues, Pharingues)—which is odd, as the inhabitants of this other world do not realise they live in a giant's mouth. In this respect, Alcofrybas has a knowledge advantage compared with the inhabitants of Pantagruel's mouth: he is able to explain that the plague epidemic is caused by the digestive fumes that come out of the giant's stomach, and he is also capable of coming up with an explanation for the presence of pigeons—the birds, assuming that they were flying into a dovecote, ended up in the mouth of the giant when he yawned. Alcofrybas is also able to locate himself according to the outer world: he knows that the mountains he descends on his way to the 'baulievres' are the 'dentz du derriere', and that the forest in which he is robbed by brigands is situated 'vers la partie des aureilles'.[22]

In this narrator's superiority, the episode differs in an essential way from its main source, Lucian's *True History*, which relates how the narrator and his companions enter the mouth of a whale, where they discover another world. In Lucian's version this world is much less 'other' than that in the version of Rabelais. The peasant and his son whom Lucian's travellers encounter are 'unlucky men' who have been swallowed by the whale, just as the travellers were. But in the case of the peasant Alcofrybas encounters, the alienation is much more profound. Whereas the Lucian peasant is conscious of his origins ('By birth, strangers, I am a Cypriote'),[23] the Rabelaisian peasant is a happy man who, born in Pantagruel's mouth, does not know any other life, being

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20 One remembers the half-mile that begins at Pantagruel's mouth and descends into his stomach. The size of Rabelais's giants is extremely variable, especially in the first two books.

21 Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 331.

22 Ibidem 332.

23 Lucian, *A True Story*, in *Lucian, Vol. I*, ed. and trans. A. M. Harmon (Cambridge MA: 1961) 289.

perfectly content with his own. Contrary to Lucian, who uses the term 'another world', Rabelais's Alcofrybas employs here the term 'nouveau monde', which refers to the contemporary frenzy about the continents newly discovered by Columbus and the Spanish explorers, and, more recently, the French discovery of Canada by Giovanni da Verrazano and Jacques Cartier:

– Jesus (dis je) il y a icy un nouveau monde.
– Certes (dist il) il n'est mie nouveau : mais l'on dist bien que hors d'icy y a une terre neufve où ilz ont et Soleil et Lune : et tout plein de belles besoignes : mais cestuy cy est plus ancien.[24]

In this passage, Rabelais's use of the term 'nouveau monde' is no more than a playful parody on the contemporary literature of discovery, where the term is frequently used—one thinks, for instance, of Simon Grynaeus's *novus orbis* (1532) or Jacques Cartier's *terre neuve* (1532–1542). Moreover, Rabelais seems to give a gentle lesson on relativism: 'qu'il est bien vray ce que l'on dit, que la moitié du monde ne sçait comment l'aultre vit'.[25] However, in his *Fourth Book* (*Quart Livre*) (1552), published during a time of growing religious tension between Catholicism and Calvinism, this relativism becomes much more serious. In this book Rabelais relates the long journey of Pantagruel, Panurge, and the other companions in search of the 'Dive Bouteille', the Holy Bottle. This journey leads them through a dangerous world full of pitfalls coming from religious intolerance, both Calvinist and papist. These snags are allegorised in the many islands the voyagers visit. The inhabitants they encounter often qualify Pantagruel and his companions as 'vous aultres gens de l'aultre monde', thus strongly implying their *philautia*, their self-love, which means that they are falsely convinced of their own righteousness and, as such, unable to consider critically their own shortcomings. It is in these allegorised islands of the *Quart Livre* and the *Cinquiesme Livre* that the relationships between body and space receive their weirdest manifestations.

But before going into these spectacular examples in the last books, it is useful to study first the influence of body on space and vice versa in the first three books. As mentioned above, Rabelais's characters leave their traces on the landscape, and are often at the origin of (comical) etiological myth-making. Thus, the chains which in Rabelais's day were used to shut down the rivers at La Rochelle, Lyon, and Angers were originally the chains with which

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24   Ibidem 331.
25   Ibidem 332.

Pantagruel was bound in his cradle when he was a baby.[26] One of the above-mentioned copper 'pillules' can now be seen hanging on the clock tower of the Eglise de Sainte Croix in Orleans. The once-famous 'Pierre Levée', a huge stray stone that was one of Poitiers's touristic curiosities in the early modern period, and of which no one knew (or knows) the exact origin, is explained by one of the feats of strength of Pantagruel, who is supposed to have deposited it there.[27] Why the region of La Beauce is now treeless, whereas once it was a thick forest, is accounted for as follows: Gargantua's giant mare, having been attacked by a swarm of gadflies, 'desgaina sa queue: et si bien s'escarmouschant, les esmoucha, qu'elle en abatit tout le boys, à tord à travers, deçà, delà, par cy, par là, de long, de large, dessus dessoubz abatoit boys comme un fauscheur faict d'herbes. En sorte que depuis n'y eut ne boys ne freslons. Mais fut tout le pays reduict en campaigne'.[28] This is also the origin of the region's name: 'Quoy voyant Gargantua, y print plaisir bien grand, sans aultrement s'en vanter. Et dist à ses gens. "Je trouve beau ce". Dont fut depuis appellé ce pays la Beauce'.[29] Other examples, now in the domain of Rabelaisian scatology: the capital's name 'Paris' comes from Gargantua, who, 'par rys' (just for fun) pissed an enormous flood of urine, drowning a lot of Parisians (as is indicated with comical precision: 'deux cens soixante mille, quatre cent dix et huit. Sans les femmes et petiz enfans').[30] This comical etymology of 'Paris' replaces another absurd etymology, 'dont fut depuis la ville nommée Paris laquelle auparavant on appelloit Leucece. Comme dict Strabo *lib. IIII.* C'est à dire en Grec, Blanchette, pour les blanches cuisses des dames dudict lieu.'[31] Gargantua's mare urine creates whole rivers, as does the urine of Pantagruel himself.[32] The hot piss of the ill Pantagruel creates numerous hot springs both in France and in Italy:

> Son urine tant estoit chaude que despuis ce temps là elle n'est encores refroydie. Et en avez en France en divers lieulx selon qu'elle print son cours: et l'on l'appelle bains chaulx, comme à Coderetz, à Limous, à Dast, à Balleruc, à Neric, à Bourbonnensy: et ailleurs. En Italie: à Mons grot, à

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26   Ibidem 228.

27   Ibidem 230.

28   Ibidem 47.

29   By the way, this particular case of a parody of etiological myth- and name-making was not invented by Rabelais. Rabelais found it in the anonymous booklet *Les Grandes Chroniques*, on which he based his first two books.

30   Ibidem 48.

31   Ibidem.

32   Ibidem 101, 315.

Appone, à Sancto Petro dy Padua, à Saincte Helene, à Casa nova, à Sancto Bartholomeo, En la Conté de Bouloigne, à la Porette, et mille autres lieux.[33]

There follow some quasi-learned lines on the much-debated question of the origin of these hot water springs:

Et m'esbahis grandement d'un tas de folz philosophes et medicins, qui perdent temps à disputer dont vient la chaleur de cesdictes eaulx, ou si c'est à cause du Baurach, ou du Soulphre, ou de l'Allun, ou du Salpetre qui est dedans la minere. [. . .] La resolution est aysée et n'en fault enquester davantaige, que lesdictz bains sont chaulx parce qu'ilz sont yssus par une chauldepisse du bon Pantagruel.[34]

Anthropisation in Rabelais can be not only scatological, but also erotic, even when it has to do with the not-very-erotic topographical question of why the miles in France are much shorter than those in other countries:

[. . .] d'ancienneté les pays n'estoyent distinctz par lieues, miliaires, stades, ny parasanges, jusques à ce que le roy Pharamond les distingua, ce que fut faict en la maniere que s'ensuyt. Car il print dedans Paris cent beaux, ieunes et gallans compaignons bien deliberez, et cent belles garses Picardes, et les feist bien traicter et bien penser par huyct jours, puis les appella et à un chascun sa garse bailla avecques force argent pour les despens, leur faisant commandement qu'ilz s'en allassent en divers lieux par cy et par là. Et à tous les passaiges qu'ilz biscoteroyent leurs garses que ilz missent une pierre, et ce seroit une lieue. Ainsi les compaignons joyeusement partirent, et pource qu'ilz estoient frays et de sejour ilz fanfreluchoient à chasque bout de champ, et voylà pourquoy les lieues de France sont tant petites. Mais quand ilz eurent long chemin parfaict et estoient ilz ja las comme pauvres diables et n'y avoit plus d'olif en ly caleil, ilz ne belinoyent si souvent et se contentoyent bien (j'entends quand aux hommes) de quelque meschante paillarde foys le iour. Et voylà qui faict les lieues de Bretaigne, de Lanes, d'Allemaigne, et aultre pays plus esloignez, si grandes. Les aultres mettent d'aultres raisons: mais celle là me semble la meilleure.[35]

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33   Ibidem 334–335.
34   Ibidem 335.
35   Ibidem 298–299.

At other, rarer moments, Rabelaisian anthropisation seems to be more seri-
ous, at least at the onset. From the blood of Abel ('le sang du juste') the earth
becomes fertile—but this serious observation is soon turned into a bawdy
remark: the earth brings forth an extremely good harvest of medlars; by eat-
ing them, some men swelled enormously and turned into giants—Pantagruel's
ancestors.[36]

The reverse of anthropisation, 'environmental determinism', is also thema-
tised, incidentally in the first three books and on a more regular and systematic
basis in the *Fourth Book* and *Fifth Book*. In *Gargantua*, for instance, it is said,
comically speaking, that being in the vicinity of a cloister increases women's
fertility, just as, more seriously, the yearly floods of the River Nile have a ferti-
lising effect—attestation seriously supported by learned references to Strabo
and Pliny.[37] The same effect can be seen in 'la fertilité du sol, salubrité du ciel,
et commodité du pays de Dipsodie'.[38]

The *Third Book* presents another case in which body and world are not sim-
ply compared to each other, but are presented as two parts, the microcosm and
the macrocosm, that belong to an animated whole which is governed, accord-
ing to the neo-platonic worldview advocated by Ficino, by the same rules of
cosmic love. As is so often the case in Rabelais, this worldview is presented
in a comically distorted way. Panurge, in order to justify his own position as
a debtor, misapplies this neo-platonic worldview by creating a paradoxical
eulogy of debts and debtors. Panurge proceeds in a very orderly and systematic
fashion to prove his absurd thesis. First he presents the chaotic dysfunction
and standstill of a macrocosm without debts: the stars, the sun, moon, and
earth, owing no debt to each other, refuse to give or receive. The same can be
said of the elements:

> Entre les elemens ne sera symbolisation, alternation, ne transmutation
> aulcune. Car l'un ne se reputera oblige à l'autre, il ne luy avoit rien presté.
> De terre ne sera faict eau: l'eau en aër ne sera transmuée: de l'aër ne
> sera faict feu: le feu n'eschauffera la terre. La terre rien ne produira que

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36   Ibidem 217–218.

37   Ibidem 123. See Bakutyte I. – Smith P. J., "La naissance de Gargantua, le choix d'Hercule
      et les inondations du Nil", *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 113 (2013) 3–14. In this
      article we also point to a hidden spatialisation of the body: the choice that the unborn
      Gargantua has to make before his birth in his mother's body at the bifurcation of the
      main vein crossroad of two veins is a parodic rewriting of the myth of Hercules at the
      crossroads.

38   Ibidem 353.

monsters, Titanes, Aloïdes, Geans. Il n'y pluyra pluye, n'y luyra lumière, n'y ventera vent, n'y sera esté ne automne.[39]

He then presents the image of the microcosm, the human body, without debts: 'vous trouverez un terrible tintamarre. La teste ne vouldra prester la veu de ses oeilz, pour guider les piedz et les mains [...] Le coeur se faschera de tant se mouvoir pour les pouls des members, et ne leurs prestera plus';[40] in short, all of the body's vital parts (lungs, liver, ureters, brains, etc.) will stop functioning, inevitably causing the body's death. Then, the macrocosm is presented as a whole ruled by debts—it is clear that for Panurge these cosmological debts are synonymous with the neo-platonic world harmony: 'O quelle harmonie sera parmy les reguliers mouvemens des Cieulz! [...] Quelle sympathie entre les elemens!'.[41] What follows, finally, is a long, detailed eulogic description of the human body, 'en tous ses membres, prestans, empruntans, doibvans, c'est à dire en son naturel'.[42]

Indeed, returning to our typology, the earth is an animated body that can eventually suffer and sweat, as we can read in a particularly distasteful passage on the question of why the seas are salty: 'Parquoy c'est que l'eaue de la mer est salée?'—that is, because of the sun approaching too close to the earth in summertime:

> Adonc la terre fut tant eschaufée, que il luy vint une sueur enorme, dont elle sua toute la mer, qui par ce est salée: car toute sueur est salée: ce que vous direz estre vray si vous voulez taster de la vostre propre ou bien de celles des verolez quand on les faict suer, ce me est tout un.[43]

Body and Space in the Heterotopias of the *Fourth Book*

As is recently stated by Frank Lestringant with reference to Michel Foucault's notion of *heterotopia* (222), 'l'archipel du *Quart livre*, prolongé dans le *Cinquiesme*, est une collection d'hétérotopies'.[44] The last two books present the

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39 Ibidem 363.

40 Ibidem 364.

41 Ibidem.

42 Ibidem 356.

43 Ibidem 223.

44 Lestringant F., "Paysages anthropomorphes à la Renaissance", in Courcelles D. de, *Nature et paysages: l'émergence d'une nouvelle subjectivité à la Renaissance* (Paris – Geneva: 2006) 261–279.

islands visited by the voyagers as a series of satirical heterotopias: every island can indeed be seen as a particular monstrous aberration from the ideal norm. In order to accentuate the heterotopian character of the islands, Rabelais adopts the traditional way of describing the monstrous, by joining together the monster and its habitat. The following observations by Claude Kappler on 15th-century descriptions of the monstrous are particularly applicable to the islands of Rabelais's last two books: 'il n'existe pas la moindre dualité entre la creature et le lieu qui la contient; chaque creature *est* son propre lieu'.[45] This coincidence of man and habitat manifests itself in two forms in the *Fourth Book*: first by reducing the description of the island to a simple mention of it. In several episodes, the island does not receive any physical description, whereas its inhabitants and their strange customs are described at length and in detail. This is the case of the island of Tapinois, ruled by the giant Quaresmeprenant.[46] The second form consists of the use of a very strong environmental determinism, by which, for instance, the earth's fertility automatically implies the fertility of the inhabitants. Thus, the isle of Cheli is 'grande, fertile, riche, et populeuse'.[47] The same can be said of the 'benoiste isle des Papimanes' (1117), of which the fertility can be found not only in the copious meal offered to the Pantagruelists ('feussent chevraulx, feussent chappons, feussent cochons, (des quelz y foizon en Papimanie),[48] feussent pigeons, connilzs, levreaulx, cocqs de Inde', but also in the pretty girls who serve the meals: 'tout le sert et dessert feut porté par les filles pucelles mariables du lieu, belles, je vous affie, saffrettes, blondelettes, doulcettes et de bonne grace'.[49] In contrast, the Island of the Papefigues, once fertile and prosperous, is now suffering from the 'calamite du lieu';[50] the climate has changed dramatically: 'tous les ans avoient gresle, tempeste, peste, famine, et tout malheur, comme eterne punition du peché de leurs ancestres et parens', causing 'la misere et calamite du peuple'.[51] This last qualification shows us that the spatial deterioration is (or can be) a kind of divine punishment, a sort of Original Sin, for what was done by the Papefigues'

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45   Kappler C., *Monstres, démons et merveilles à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: 1980) 41. Frank Lestringant uses the term 'spatial metonymy' to explain the same phenomenon (Lestringant F., "Chorographie et paysage à la Renaissance", in Giraud (ed.), *Le Paysage à la Renaissance* 8–26. See also Smith P. J., *Voyage et écriture. Etude sur le* Quart Livre *de Rabelais* (Geneva: 1987) 127–128.

46   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 606.

47   Ibidem 560.

48   One notes the satire.

49   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 656.

50   Ibidem 648.

51   Ibidem 643.

ancestors, who had mocked the Pope ('faire la figue'). This implies that in this and several other places in the *Fourth Book* and *Fifth Book*, it is not possible to distinguish between our four categories: man informs the space he lives in, and is informed by it; man is like his environment, and vice versa.

The *Fourth Book*, however, contains three episodes that are more or less deviant, in that they do not present man and habitat in their mutual relationship as a whole, but, on the contrary, (seemingly) in contrast with each other. The chorography of the island Farouche does not present the island as 'farouche' at all. The island is presented as a *locus amoenus*: it has 'un petit port desert vers le midy situé lez une touche de boys haulte, belle, et plaisante: de laquelle sortoit un delicieux ruisseau d'eau doulce, claire, et argentine'.[52] The discrepancy between the island and its name can be explained by the highly opinionated, aggressive nature of its inhabitants, the Andouilles.[53] As I have shown elsewhere, the episode should be read as a virulent anti-English satire. The physical description of the island as a green, pleasant, clear-watered place enables the reader to recognise England (as it has been traditionally described in the cosmologies since Antiquity), whereas the 'farouche', querulous inhabitants are the Protestant English, who are ruled by Henry VIII and who, at the time the *Fourth Book* was published, were in serious political conflict with the French and their king, Henry II.[54]

The 'admirable' (but anonymous) island of Messer Gaster presents a chorography comparable, in a sense, to the lecture and understanding of a hermetic text, difficult on the surface but with rich content hidden beneath.

> Elle [= the island] de tous coustez pour le commencement estoit scabreuse, pierreuse, montueuse, infertile, mal plaisante à l'oeil, tres difficile aux pieds et peu moins inaccessible que le mons du Daulphiné [. . .] Surmontans la difficulté de l'entrée, à peine bien grande et non sans suer, trouvasmes le dessus du mons tant plaisant, tant fertile, tant salubre, et delicieux, que je pensoys estre le vray Jardin et Paradis terrestre.[55]

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52   Ibidem 620.

53   The onomastic of the island is multilayered, because 'farouche' also can be explained as a conscious mutation of the name of the Faroe Islands, depicted in the contemporary mappemondes and cosmographies.

54   See Smith P. J., "'Les âmes anglaises sont andouillettes'. Nouvelles perspectives sur l'épisode des Andouilles (*Quart Livre*, ch. 35–42)", in Céard J. – Demonet M.-L. (eds.), *Rabelais et la question du sens* (Geneva: 2011) 99–111.

55   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 671.

Pantagruel interprets this place as the 'manoir de Areté (c'est Vertus) par Hesiode descript, sans toutesfoys prejudice de plus saine opinion'.[56] But the place turns out to be neither Paradise nor the Rock of Virtue, but the dwelling place of a monstrous godhead: Messer Gaster, the Belly, 'Premier Maistre es ars du monde'.[57] Thus, the episode becomes an etiological myth that explains how Gaster forced mankind to invent agriculture and industry to feed him. These inventions have had a considerable and visible impact on landscape and climate, partly through the invention of agriculture (harvest fields), machinery to serve it (windmills), fortifications and arms to defend it (walls), and roads and harbours to transport it—all of these inventions visibly marking the landscape. But Gaster also is responsible for some other, more magical inventions, which are mentioned in classical literature: the 'art et moyen de evocquer la pluye des Cieulx', and 'de suspendre et arrester la pluye en l'air, et sus mer la faire tomber. Inventoit art et moyen de aneantir la gesle, supprimer les vens, destourner la tempeste.'[58] (1183)—all arts mentioned by Rabelais's sources in these matters: Pausanias and Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*.

   The relationship between body and space is further thematised in a multi-layered way, also in connection with the art of reading and interpreting, in the episode of the Isles of the Macreons (*Fourth Book*, chap. 25). In the forest of these islands, the voyagers find the ruins of an old age:

> Et par la forest umbrageuse et deserte descouvrit plusieurs vieulx temples ruinez, plusieurs obelisces, Pyramides, monumens, et sepulchres antiques, avecques inscriptions et epitaphes divers. Les uns en letres Hieroglyphiques, les aultres en languaige Ionicque, les aultres en langue Arabicque, Agarene, Sclavonicque, et aultres.[59]

Epistemon—the learned one—one of Pantaguel's companions, takes notice 'curieusement' of all these inscriptions. This landscape, full of ruins and inscriptions, is reminiscent of the ones found in Arcadian literature, of which Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (ca. 1489) is the best-known example, widely read and imitated in Rabelais's time and translated into French in 1544 by Jean Martin. However, the most obvious (albeit not explicitly mentioned) source for this episode is Francesco Colonna's antiquarian novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), also translated by Jean Martin in 1546 and much appreciated both by

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56   Ibidem 671–672.

57   Ibidem 672.

58   Ibidem 683.

59   Ibidem 598.

artists (for its trendsetting woodcuts) and authors in the Renaissance. This book was well known to Rabelais: in other episodes, not only does he refer two times to this book (on the question of hieroglyphics), he also translated some episodes from it, and he used these translations for some chapters of his *Fifth Book*. For our topic, the significance of this passage is multilayered: the learned Epistemon trying to decipher the hieroglyphic inscriptions certainly represents a kind of *mise en abyme*, a projection of the ideal reader, who should be searching and interpreting the hidden meanings of Rabelais's books. As Alcofrybas says elsewhere, in a passage on interpretation: 'Lesquelles [i.e. les lettres hieroglyphiques] nul n'entendoit qui n'entendist: et un chascun entendoit qui entendît la vertu, proprieté, et nature des choses par icelles figurées', followed by a reference to Horappolon's book on hieroglyphics and Colonna: 'Desquelles Orus Appolon a en Grec composé deux livres, et Polyphile au *songe d'amours* en a advantaige exposé'.[60]

As is the case with so many other episodes in the *Fourth Book*, this episode is about reading and interpreting. But, as our topic does not allow me to discuss in depth the metadiscursive and autoreferential aspects of this and other episodes, I will limit myself here to the Arcadian landscapes to which this episode seems to refer. Comparing the traditional Arcadian landscapes to the Rabelaisian one, some differences come to the fore: the forest of the Macreons seems to be much more desert-like than the traditional Arcadian landscapes, populated with young shepherds and shepherdesses, and with nymphs and satyrs. The greater part of the island is covered by a 'boys de haulte fustaye, et desert comme si feust la forest de Ardeine'.[61] The erosion of Time and even the presence of Death are much more sensible in Rabelais than in the lightly melancholic but altogether pleasant landscapes by Sannazaro, Remy Belleau, or Poussin ('Et in Arcadia Ego'). Young people are absent, as is explicitly stated in the name of the island's inhabitants: 'Icy est l'isle des Macraeons. Macraeon en Grec signifie vieillart, home qui a des ans beacoup.'[62] The ruins are the silent witnesses of a rich past, as is explained by the Macrobe (the name means 'homme de langue vie'): 'jadis riche, frequente, opulente, marchande, populeuse [...] Maintenant, par laps de temps et sus la declination du monde, paouvre et deserte comme voyez'.[63] The forest's only inhabitants are old—'En ceste obscure forest que voyez [...] est l'habitation des Daemons et Heroes. Les quelz sont devenuz vieulx'—and dying—'Au trespas d'un chascun

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60   Ibidem 29, 708.
61   Ibidem 598.
62   Ibidem.
63   Ibidem 599.

d'iceulx ordinairement oyons nous par la forest grandes et pitoyables lamen-
tations, et voyons en terre pestes, vimeres et afflictions; en l'air troublemens et
tenebres: en mer, tempeste et fortunal'.[64] The long and learned discussion that
follows—the most serious one in the *Fourth Book*—gives several comparable
examples of a person's death and its impact on nature, from the classical past
to recent times: the death of the 'preux et docte chevalier Guillaume du Bellay',
one of Rabelais's patrons, on 9 January 1543. Epistemon observes that he was
there at the moment of Du Bellay's death, in the company of many others,
among whom was 'Rabelays'. In a moving passage, Rabelais, via the mouth of
Epistemon, remembers the days preceding Du Bellay's death, which were full
of inexplicable wonders: 'prodiges tant divers et horrificques les quelz veismes
apertement cinq et six jours avant son depart'. The assistants 'tous effrayez se
reguardoient les uns les aultres en silence, sans mot dire de bouche, mais bien
tous pensans et prevoyans en leurs entendemens que de brief seroit France
privée d'un tant perfaict et necessaire chevallier à sa gloire et protection, et
que les cieulx le repetoient comme à eulx deu par proprieté naturelle'.[65] (1031).
Then Pantagruel tells the story of Thamous and the death of Pan, related by
Plutarch in his *De defectu oraculorum*. Near the Isle of Paxes, this Thamous
heard a voice commanding him to proclaim to the nearby island that the god
Pan has died:

> Adoncques Thamous montant en prore, et en terre projectant sa veue
> dist ainsi que luy estoit commandé, que Pan le grand estoit mort. Il n'avoit
> encores achevé le dernier mot quand feurent entenduz grands souspirs,
> grandes lamentatations, et effroiz en terre, non d'une persone seule, mais
> de plusieurs ensemble.[66] (1035).

Pantagruel, on the basis of the etymology of the name Pan ('Car à bon droict
peut il estre en langaige Gregoys dict Pan. Veu qu'il est le nostre Tout, tout ce
que sommes, tout ce que vivons, tout ce que avons, tout ce que esperons est
luy, en luy, de luy, par luy') and the concordance of the time (the reign of the
Roman emperor Tiberius), identifies Pan's death with Christ's death: 'A la mort
duquel feurent plaincts, souspirs, effroys, et lamentations en toute la machine
de l'Univers, cieulx, terre, mer, enfers.'[67]

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64   Ibidem.
65   Ibidem 602–603.
66   Ibidem 604–605.
67   Ibidem 605.

How does this episode fit into our typology of man-space relations? The initial anthropisation (man literally inscribing his presence in the landscape) soon gives way to a (literally) pan-theistic vision of the world, which, however, does not go in the direction of a pantheistic world-vision, in which God and Nature are equalled; nor does it tend toward animist cosmology, as we saw in Ronsard. Scholars (M. A. Screech, Edwin M. Duval a.o.) disagree on the exact meaning of this episode[68]—especially because it is not clear whether Pantagruel really is Rabelais's *porte-parole*. It is indeed a fact that Pantagruel's very serious interpretations are counterbalanced by the less serious Panurge—who, for instance, distorts the honourable name of 'Macrobe' in 'maquereau'—and by Alcofrybas himself, who states rather inconveniently that the tears Pantagruel sheds while meditating on Christ's death are as big as ostrich eggs, adding: 'Je me donne à Dieu, si j'en mens d'un seul mot'[69]—phraseology well known in tall stories for saying that everything being told is nothing but a lie.

Body and Space in the *Fifth Book*

Contrary to the heterotopias of the *Fourth Book* (where the chorography of the islands is more or less 'normal', that is, in accordance with the general rules of descriptive *hypothyposis* or *evidentia*), the *Fifth Book* offers several chorographies that are examples of increasing descriptive illegibility or even aporia. The very first one, 'Ringing Island', possibly inspired by Cartier's descriptions of colonies of seabirds living in the remote oceanic islands, is populated with birdlike creatures that represent the whole clerical hierarchy: 'Clergaux, Monagaux, Prestregaux, Abbegaux, Evesgaux, Cardingaux, et Papegaut, qui est unique en son espece.'[70] The other islands are more or less artificial, made of man-made objects—contrary to the islands of the *Fourth Book*.

The Island of the 'Ferrements' is 'deserte, et de nul habitée', but it has a monstrous flora of plants in the form of iron tools, described so exhaustively and in such detail that it is impossible for the reader to imagine the landscape:[71] 'et y veismes grand nombre d'arbres, portans marroches, pioches, serfouettes, faulx, faucilles, besches, truelles, congnées, serpes, scies, doloueres, forces, scizeaux,

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68   For a recent discussion, see Le Cadet N., "L'île des Macraeons, ou les ambiguïtés du *transitus* rabelaisien (*Quart Livre*, Ch XXV à XXVIII)", *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 61 (2005) 51–72.

69   Ibidem 605.

70   Ibidem 732.

71   This is true for all long enumerations and lists in Rabelais's works.

tenailles, pelles, virolets, et vibrequins. Autres portoient daguenets, poignards, sangdedez, ganivets, poinssons, espées, verduns, braquemarts, simeterres, estocs, raillons, et cousteaux'.[72] The indescribable is thematised by Alcofrybas when leaving the island, with a bawdy play on the word 'ferremens', meaning 'copulation': 'Nous retournans à nos navires, je vis derriere je ne scay quel buysson je ne scay quelles gens, faisans je ne scay quoy, et je ne scay comment, aguisans je ne scay quels ferremens, qu'ils avoyent je ne scay où, et ne scays en quelle maniere'.[73]

The Island of the Apedestes takes the form of a huge winepress (symbolising the greediness of the Cour des Comptes) with a desolate landscape painting at the entrance (it is the only time that Rabelais uses the word 'paysage'): 'où vous voiez en paysayge le ruynes presque de tout le monde: tant de potences, de grans larrons, tant de gibbets, de questions, que cela vous fait peur'.[74]

The Island of Satin is entirely made of tapestries, mirroring the world's marvels of natural history. But on this island the numerous animals are not real, nor are the fruits the travellers want to eat: 'je donques prins quelques mirobolans qui pendoient à un bout de tapisserie: mais je ne les peu mascher n'avaller, et les goustans eussiez proprement dict et juré que fust soy retorsse, et n'avoient saveur aucune'.[75] In fact, the natural wonders are pictorial representations of the descriptions of cosmographers and natural historians, who mix up marvellous—but real—existing creatures (elephants, rhinos, pelicans, chameleons, etc.) with non-existent animals (unicorns, werewolves, centaurs, etc.), carnivalesque creatures (My-caresme and the well-known erotic 'beste à deux dos'), and some strange monsters that come directly from Pliny (Eales, Cucrocutes, Menthicornes, Catoblepes). Pliny and his ancient and modern colleagues are gathered together behind a tapestry, huddled around their idol Ouy-Dire, or Hear-Say. We have here an ingenious play on words, images, and reality, in which at least four semiotic levels are involved: (1) nature's reality, (2) the naturalists' descriptions, (3) the artists' and weavers' depictions of these descriptions, and (4) the textual rendering of these depictions.[76] Our body-space typology falls short in this multilayered episode, where nothing is real. This is especially the case in the following passage, where the narrator relates how the voyagers move away from the sea, deeper into the island, where they

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72   Ibidem 746.

73   Ibidem 747.

74   Ibidem 870.

75   Ibidem 804.

76   See Smith P. J., "Aspects du discours zoologique dans le *Cinquiesme Livre*", in *Le* Cinquiesme Livre [...] (Geneva: 2001) 103–113.

find to their amazement a marvellous painting of the Mediterranean Sea, in which the fish strangely behave like human beings:

> Passans quelque peu avant en ce pays de tapisserie, vismes la mer mediterranée, ouverte et descouverte jusques aux abismes [...] Là je recongnu Triton sonnant de sa grosse conche, Glaucus, Proteus, Nereus, et mille autres dieux et monstres marins. Vismes aussi nombre infiny de poisons en especes diverses, dansans, volans, voltigeans, combatans, mangeans, respirans, belutans, chassans, dressans escarmouches, faisans embuscades, composans tresves, marchandans, jurans, s'esbatans.[77]

The episode of the Isle des Odes—the word 'ode' is Frenchified Greek for 'odos', meaning 'road' or 'way'—is titled with precision 'en laquelle les chemins cheminent'. This island is the least imaginable of all of the islands of the last two books: how can we possibly imagine living roads ('Les chemins y sont animaux')?[78] This whole island is based on a long series of wordplay on the literal and figurative meanings of well-known expressions, which I give here in modernised French: chemin passant, chemin croissant, chemin traversant, guetteur de chemin, batteur de pavé, prendre le chemin de l'école, tenir le chemin le plus court, marcher à pas d'abbé, battre le chemin, briser chemin, etc. This kind of materialised wordplay also occurs in the *Fourth Book*—for instance, in the episode of the Frozen Words—but in the episode of the Odes the wordplay is specifically related to topography. Once again, our typology is unable to frame the Rabelaisian play on body and space, and does nothing more than indicate the very uncommon, non-traditional aspects of this play. This non-traditional aspect can also be seen in the curious conclusion Pantagruel draws from his visit to the island:

> Seleucus prins opinion d'affermer la terre veritablement au tour des poles se mouvoir non le Ciel, encores qu'il nous semble le contraire estre verité. Comme estans sur la riviere de Loire nous semblent les arbres prochains se mouvoir, toutesfois ils ne se mouvent mais nous par le decours du batteau.[79]

Frank Lestringant underlines the cosmological actuality of these lines, likening them to the episode of Pantagruel's mouth: 'La révolution copernicienne

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77   Ibidem 803.

78   Ibidem 786.

79   Ibidem 787.

[dated in 1543] est contenue en germe dans la topographie mouvante d'odes, tout comme le choc resultant de la découverte du Nouveau monde se trouvait intégré à la visite du narrateur dans la bouche de Pantagruel'.[80]

Epilogue

At the end of the *Fifth Book*, space is reduced drastically: Pantagruel's and Panurge's voyage around the world ends in a cave. The voyagers go underground. It is in the subterranean temple of Bacbuc that Pantagruel and Panurge are initiated into the Word of the Dive Bouteille. A subterranean initiation is quite conventional in myth and literature (Panurge himself already underwent a kind of underground initiation at the end of the *Fourth Book*). No relationship between space and body is explicitly given; no explicit comparison is made between the cave and the human body. But in this specific context of initiation and rebirth it is tempting to consider the chapter "La grotte", which the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard in his book *La terre et les rêveries du repos* (1948), devoted to the cave as a literary theme. In this chapter, Bachelard alludes to examples of 'mythes primitifs où la caverne est une sorte de matrice universelle. D'une caverne, dans certains mythes, sortent lune et soleil, tous les êtres vivants. En particulier, la caverne est anthropogonique'.[81] Although the *Fifth Book*'s subterranean temple lacks explicit anthropomorphic references, it is tempting to see here an implicit reference to the theme of 'la Terre maternelle',[82] Mother Earth's womb. It is in a cave that the principle of life and hidden wisdom are discovered, and a kind of rebirth is taking place: in imitation of Zoroaster, Aesculapius, Orpheus, and Pythagoras (all mentioned by Rabelais), Pantagruel and his companions are sent out into the world again to spread wisdom, guided by God: 'Or allez de par Dieu qui vous conduie'.[83] These words of the Priestess of the Dive Bouteille are the very last ones of the *Fifth Book*, published more than ten years after Rabelais's death.[84] It is not fortuitous that they are immediately followed by an anonymous epigram, signed by 'Nature Quite', proclaiming Rabelais's own rebirth and immortality:

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80   Lestringant, "Paysages anthropomorphes à la Renaissance" 268–269.

81   Bachelard G., *La terre et les rêveries du repos* (Paris: 1948) 202.

82   Ibidem 209.

83   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 840.

84   And therefore often considered to be inauthentic. For a synoptic discussion of the *Fifth Book*'s authenticity, see Huchon M., "*Fifth Book (Cinquiesme Livre)*", in Zegura E. C. (ed.), *The Rabelais Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: 2004) 76–77.

Rabelais est-il mort, Voici encore un livre:
Non, sa meilleure part a repris ses esprits,
Pour nous faire present de l'un de ses escrits
Qui le rend entre tous Immortel et fait vivre.[85]

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85   Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 841.

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The Migrating Cannibal: Anthropophagy at Home and at the Edge of the World

Miya Tokumitsu

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a curious figure emerges across the spectrum of Northern European visual culture. A grotesque, nude woman feasting on human body parts appears in ethnographic prints, on the borders of maps, and in sumptuous *Kunstkammern.* The cannibalizing woman's persistent reappearance in a variety of guises demonstrates that she was an adaptable pictorial subject, but her multiplicity also suggests that that her image remained incompletely codified as representational material. Her unfixed persona and the circular syntax of cannibalism, in which the relationship between subject and object is inherently unstable, provide a reflexive discourse of representation in the spaces she occupies. This essay analyzes the cannibalizing woman in three discrete contexts that pose special representational challenges: ethnographic reports from the Americas [Fig. 4.1], Willem Janszoon Blaeu's c. 1635 map of the Arctic regions [Fig. 4.2] and the frontispiece [Fig. 4.3] to the Arctic maps in his son's 1665 *Atlas Maior*, and finally, an ivory *Kunstkammer* sculpture by the German artist Leonhard Kern (1588–1662) [Fig. 4.4]. What strategies are needed to mediate visual data far from home? How does one map the outer limits of an ever-expanding world? How does an object activate the visual wit demanded by the *Kunstkammer*?

The cannibalizing woman repeatedly emerges in spaces, or worlds, where Westerners encounter the unfamiliar: people of a different culture, an unnavigated sea, a bizarre natural specimen in the *Kunstkammer*. The thrill of these encounters is confrontation with the unknown, specifically the power of the unknown to subvert egocentrality by revealing the world to be structurally different than previously understood. Unmoored from its central position, the self, dislocated, threatens to float away to world's margins, and, possibly, to vanish there. Cannibalism's unique triple threat of dismemberment, eradication, and incorporation into a foreign body signals the existential anxiety of disappearance in these places where European audiences needed to negotiate a normative Western presence.

Worlds, be they macrocosms or microcosms, and the human body are systems of diverse components nominally functioning as a unified whole, and have served as metaphors for each other in the West since Plato's *Timaeus* and
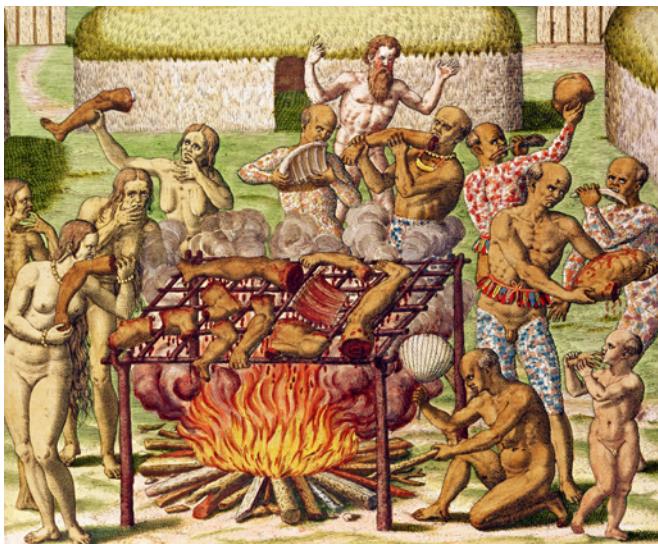
FIGURE 4.1   *Theodore de Bry, depiction of cannibalism, from his*
Americae Tertia Pars [. . .] (Frankfurt am Main, Sigmund
Feyerabend: 1592) 179. Engraving. Vincennes, Service
Historique de la Marine. Photo © Giraudon / The Bridgeman
Art Library.

FIGURE 4.2   *Willem Janszoon Blaeu,* Regiones sub Polo Arctico
(Amsterdam: Willem Janszoon Blaeu: 1642–1643). Hand-colored
map, 41 × 53 cm. San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and
Gallery. This item is reproduced with permission from the
Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
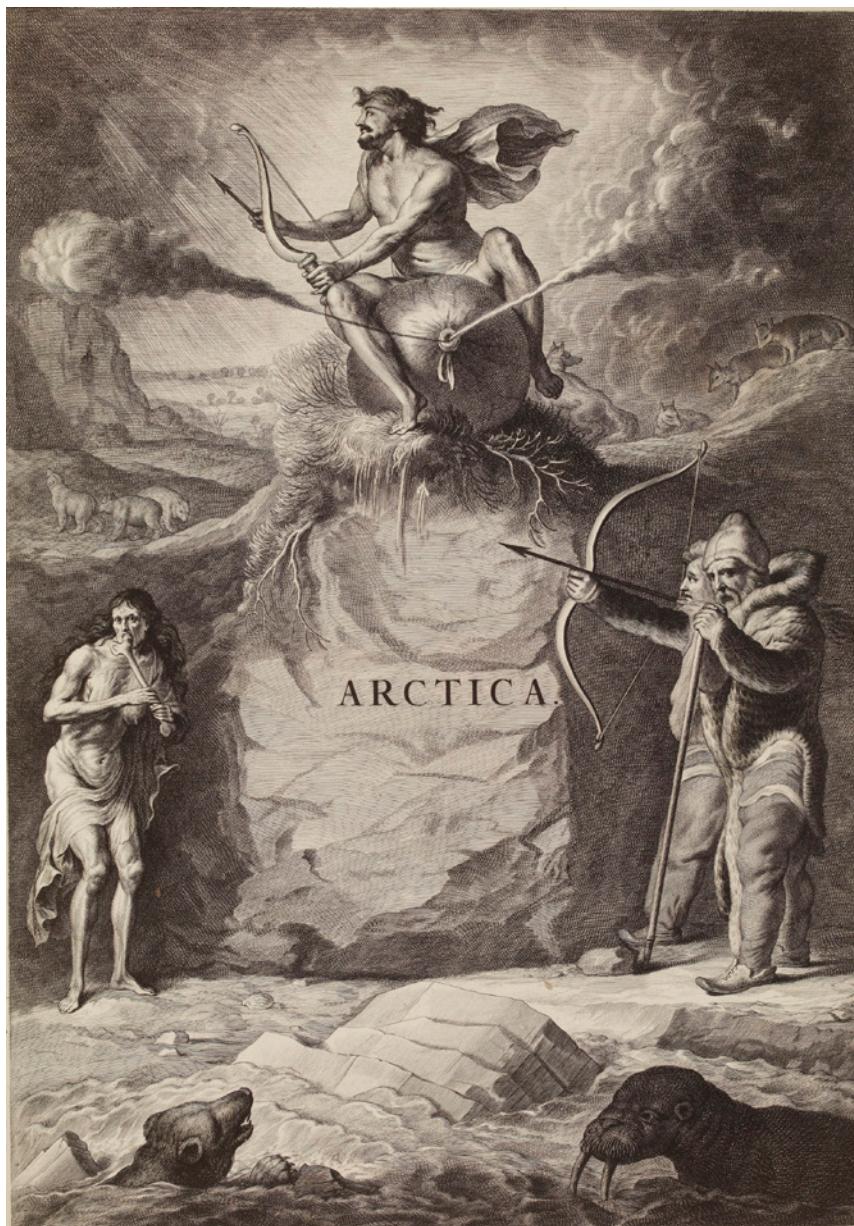
FIGURE 4.3 *Unknown artist*, Arctica (1662). *Engraving, 30 × 43 cm. London, The British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.*

FIGURE 4.4 *Leonhard Kern*, Female Cannibal (*c. 1650*). *Ivory, height 20 cm; oval plinth 11.2 × 10 cm. Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg. Photo: H. Zweitasch; Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart.*

arguably well before.[1] The human body serves as the most immediate of spatial metaphors; its borders analogize the limits of cosmic spaces, determining what is inside and outside.[2] Yet the necessity of eating undermines these delineations and sense of completeness, and cannibalism especially so, for it dissolves subjectivity itself, muddling the distinction between eater and eaten.[3]

In the spaces discussed here, the dominance and normative centrality of the European male perspective comes into question. In supposedly ethnographic descriptions of the Americas, the cannibalizing woman seems to be an anthropologically observed tribeswoman, but, upon scrutiny, she is merely a conjuring of European folk creatures, a false spectacle for Western eyes. The cannibalizing women on the Blaeu map and frontispiece preside over a series of floating, unconnected fragments of borders of unexplored landmasses—where Europe's seasoned explorers were disoriented and tested by the frigid climate. Finally, the spectatorial pleasure of the *Kunstkammer* depended on the feigned deconstruction of borders between ontological categories such as art and nature. A disturbing scene crafted from an exotic, organic material, Kern's work confounds the division not only between art and nature, but also between horror and preciousness. Where the cannibalizing woman appears, on the edges of known worlds and what lies beyond, the spectator is caught within the dialectics of self versus other, familiar versus strange.

Importing Cannibalism from the New World

While much has been written about the colonialist aspects of Amerindian cannibal imagery, the aim here is to examine how the grotesque, cannibalizing woman emerged from the New World and became an itinerant figure in European iconography. As the etymology and the historical reception of cannibalism in Europe make clear, early modern images of cannibalism cannot be entirely separated from the New World, no matter where they are staged. The

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1   Barkan L., *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body As Image of the World* (New Haven: 1975) 8–11.

2   Barkan writes, 'In the life of the primitive man, the self, and hence the body, is the only wholeness which can be grasped. Anthropomorphism is, *faute de mieux*, this man's only cosmology [...]' (Ibidem 8). See also Kilgour M., *From Communion to Cannibalism: Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: 1990) 4.

3   Grigsby D. G., *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven – London, 2002), 168 writes, '[Cannibalism's] power derives not from its narrative fixity but from its expansive metaphoricity. Cannibalism like plague articulates the self (actively) assaulted but also the self (passively) disassembled and unbound'.

present task is to determine how the traces of the Americas inflect the use of cannibalism imagery in other contexts.

Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby observes that fears of cannibalism prevail at moments of cultural contact;[4] in fact, it was from just such an encounter that the word 'cannibal' appeared, bestowed to the world by none other than Christopher Columbus on his fateful 1492 journey.[5] On November 4, 1492, Columbus writes that his interpreters tell him of one-eyed men with dogs' snouts who eat human flesh dwelling east of where he stood (as it happened, the island of Cuba).[6] A few weeks later, on November 23, the word, 'cannibal' appears for the first time in his journal: '[the Arawaks] said this land was very extensive and that in it were people who had one eye in the forehead, and others whom they called "canibals". Of these last, they showed great fear [...]'.[7] Etymologically, the word 'cannibal' in Columbus's journal has two roots. The first derives from the Arawak word *caniba*, a corruption of the word *cariba*, which the Arawaks used to describe their enemy tribe. The second is the Latin *canis*, or dog, relating the Cynocephali, dog-headed monsters passed down through scientific literature from Pliny the Elder to Isidore of Seville and other cataloguers of monstrous races.[8] When Columbus's interpreters tell him that further east lived men with dogs' snouts who ate human flesh, and Columbus heard the name the Arawaks gave their enemies, he translated the latter in terms of the former according to the prevailing scientific worldview that resemblances were the basis of all knowledge.[9] The similarity between the

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4 Ibidem 186.

5 Columbus's journal is known only through Bartholomé de las Casas's much later 1552 abstract of the text. The word *canibales* first appears in Columbus's log-book on November 23, 1492. Hulme P., *Colonial Encounters: Europeans and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: 1986) 16–17.

6 Lestringant F., *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1987) 15; Columbus C., *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, ed.–trans. C. Jane – Vigneras L. A. (London: 1960) 177.

7 Lestringant, *Cannibals* 16; Columbus, *Journal* 68–69.

8 This is Frank Lestringant's etymological analysis; see Lestringant, *Cannibals* 15–22. Hulme does not emphasize the Latin *canis* in his etymology of the word, focusing instead on Columbus's conflation of *caniba* with the 'great Khan' (Can).

9 Lestringant, *Cannibals* 15–16. Michel Foucault articulates this theory of resemblances in Foucault M., *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: 1970) 17–45. On 37, he writes that in the sixteenth century, '[...] all the languages of the world [...] make up together the image of the truth'. According to Carruthers M., "Inventional Mnemonics and the Ornaments of Style: the Case of Etymology", *Connotations* 2, 1 (1992) 105–106, a similar practice of 'inventing' etymologies for words and names derives from the Middle Ages, as a method of imbuing these words with desired connotations.

Arawak and Latin root words describing monstrous flesh-eaters confirmed to Columbus that they denoted the same creature.

The roots of the word 'cannibal' are further complicated by Columbus's confused geography; believing himself to be in Asia, he determines on December 11 that, 'the Caniba are none other than the people of the Great Khan [Can], who must be neighbors to these [West Indian tribes he actually encountered]. They have ships, they come and capture these people, and as those who are taken never return, the others believe that they have been eaten'.[10] The leap from disappearance to cannibalism that Columbus describes will prove critical. In the November 23 entry, directly after the word cannibal first appears, the practice is equated with disappearance: '[…] because they did not return to their own land, [the Arawaks] would say that they were eaten'.[11] The same text that establishes cannibalism as a word and concept for European audiences ensures that the eating of human flesh and disappearance far from home ('those who are taken never return'; 'they did not return to their own land') henceforth conjure one another in the imagination.[12] From its inception, the concept of cannibalism was bound up in geographic dislocation as well as bodily vanishing.

The practice of eating human flesh was certainly known to Europeans, but Columbus's 'cannibalism' codifies it in the cultural lexicon by assigning it new values and cultural connotations.[13] Cannibalism as a cultural signifier, as a cipher for otherness—outside the realm of civilization, even outside the realm of humanity—originated for European minds in the New World, far from home. Its etymology encodes it with connotations of the faraway, the marginal, and the threat of violent eradication at or just beyond those margins.

In their widely read travel accounts, Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and, later, the German soldier Hans Staden, journeyed to the New World and confronted cannibalism. Columbus heard of man-eaters lurking in the landscape and subsequently invented the cannibal. Vespucci recounted witnessing a

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10   Hulme *Colonial Encounters* 21–22; Lestringant, *Cannibals* 16–17; Columbus, *Journal* 92–93.

11   Columbus, *Journal* 69.

12   Beckman K., *Vanishing Women: Magic, Film, and Feminism* (Durham – London: 2003) 11 underscores the particular horror of bodily vanishing: 'Part of the violence of disappearance lies in the way it renders its victims fundamentally inaccessible'. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters* 19 remarks that Columbus himself bore some skepticism about the anthropophagic practices of the Arawaks' enemies, but nonetheless continues to tie cannibalism to bodily disappearance.

13   Hulme, *Colonial Encounters* 19 notes that the word '["cannibalism"] was adopted into the bosom of the European family of languages with a speed and readiness which suggests that there had always been an empty place kept warm for it'.

fellow Christian being eaten,[14] and Staden was captured by Tupi tribesmen in Brazil, threatened with cannibalism, and spared.[15] All three confronted potential physical eradication far from their European homelands, and their recorded experiences became the basis for associating cannibalism with cultural encounters in other, or 'new' worlds.

Another intimidating female figure preceded the grotesque cannibalizing woman in representing the American continents to Western audiences. A warrior woman, typically shown bare-breasted and donning a feather skirt and headdress, personified the Americas in emblem books and on atlas frontispieces. Both Cesare Ripa and Abraham Ortelius depicted her standing next to the severed head of a defeated enemy. As a personification, her body claims to represent the American continents, revealing them as places of immodesty and savagery. The severed head at her feet is a physical trace of mutilation, indicating that the New World is an area where the outsider's bodily integrity is at risk. The victim's head is not only disconnected from his body, but also brought low to the ground, subverting proper anatomical organization. This American personification is not shown explicitly as a cannibal; however, cannibalism is subtly implied. Given the well-circulated tales of Columbus and others, we are left to imagine the lurid fate of her victim's body.[16] What the Ortelius and Ripa personifications only imply, the cannibalizing woman makes explicit. With her repulsive features and bestial revelry in her human meal, she does not merely allude to vague dangers, but insists upon the viewer's direct confrontation with the visceral realities of cannibalism that Ortelius and Ripa leave offstage.

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14   Vespucci A., *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of His Career*, trans. C. R. Markham (London: 1894) 37–38.

15   The full title of Staden's memoir, published in Marburg, is *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nackten, Grimmigen Menschenfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt-America gelegen* (The True History and Description of a Country of Wild, Naked, Grim Man-Eating People in the New World). Staden's memoir has been recently re-translated into English in a valuable volume that also reproduces the text's original woodcut illustrations in their entirety. See Whitehead N. L. – Harbsmeier M. (eds.–trans.), *Hans Staden's* True History: *An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil* (Durham-London: 2008).

16   Beckman, *Vanishing Women* 11–12. Beckman writes that in reading the traces of violence that disappeared bodies leave behind, we imagine both the bodies themselves and their suffering. For further discussion of the cannibal implied in the Ripa and Ortelius figures, see Schreffler M., "Vespucci Rediscovers America: The Pictorial Rhetoric of Cannibalism in Early Modern Culture", *Art History* 28 (2005) 295–310.

Early European images and descriptions of cannibalism in the New World portray men and women of all ages butchering, cooking, and eating human flesh, and the grotesque old crone emerges as a stock character in these accounts. The repeated and curiously similar observations of this woman were surely colored by established European female folk creatures cast as eaters of flesh, especially witches and wild women. These familiar characters that interact in depraved ways with their own bodies and the bodies of others served as a filter through which European observers witnessed, recorded, and later, defined Amerindian cannibalism as spectacle. The physical traits associated with these figures, the immodest bestiality of the wild woman and the ugliness and old age associated with witches, became standard attributes for a type of female Amerindian cannibal.

In their separate accounts, two French missionaries to Brazil, André Thevet (1516–1590) and Jean de Léry (1536–1613) describe exactly such a woman relishing the gustatory pleasure of her human meal. Léry observes old Tupi women clamoring 'to receive the fat that drips off along the [...] grills'.[17] Thevet writes, 'In our presence was committed an act by an old woman, which was the most horrible, and most cruel one had ever heard of. She would have been better known as a dog; this woman proceeds to devour a man before his children'.[18] Theodore de Bry later depicted similar grotesque, cannibalizing women in his 1592 *Americae tertia pars* [Fig. 4.1].[19] In this illustration, de Bry depicts a cannibal barbeque. To the right of the grill appear three grotesque women with wrinkled skin, sagging breasts and dark-ringed eyes, all licking their fingers in

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17   Léry J. de, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil,* ed.–trans. J. Whatley (Berkeley: 1990) 126; Lestringant, *Cannibals* 70; Whitehead N. L., "Introduction", in Whitehead N. L. – Harbsmeier M. (eds.–trans.), *Hans Staden's* True History xxxiv.

18   Thevet A., "Histoire d'André Thevet Angousmoisin, Cosmographe du Roy de deux voyages par luy fait aux Indes Australes et Occidentales, etc., 53–62v", Appendix II in Métraux A., *La Religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani* (Paris: 1928) 246. See also Whitehead, "Introduction" xxxiv, note 34: 'En nostre presence fut commis une acte par une vielle femme, le plus horrible, et le plus cruel, duquel on aye parlé. Laquelle avoit mieux mérité le nom de chiene (sic) [...]'.

19   Bry Theodore de, *Americæ tertia pars: Memorabilē provinciæ Brasiliæ Historiam continēs germanico primùm sermone scriptam à Ioāne Stadio Homburgensi Hesso, nunc autem latinitate donatam à Teucrio Annæo Priuato Colchanthe Po: & Med: Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eamdem Provinciam, quā ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit; His accesit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum. Omnia recens evulgata, & eiconibus in aes incisis ac ad vivum expressis illustrata, ad normam exemplaris praedictorum Autorum: studio & diligentia Theodori de Bry.* (Frankfurt am Main, Sigmund Feyerabend: 1592) 179.

frenzied gestures of oral satisfaction.[20] The woman closest to the grill appears to have her other hand on it, wiping off the dripping fat as Thevet and Léry describe.

Thevet's description of this woman as 'old', 'horrible', and 'cruel', is notably devoid of ethnographic or geographic specificity and overlaps neatly with qualities assigned to witches in Europe.[21] Furthermore, the depraved sexuality bestowed to the cannibalizing women by de Bry and implied by Thevet's phrase, 'in our presence was committed an act', was another familiar quality of witches. Charles Zika has examined the connection between Amerindian cannibalism and witchcraft imagery in the seventeenth century, demonstrating that as the 'children of Saturn', their inherited traits such as the god's cannibalism, inhuman cruelty, and sexual deviance, legitimized and codified visual parameters for renderings of each.[22] Consequently, female grotesqueness, cannibalism, witchcraft, and the Americas form a constellation of associations; when one or more of these traits surfaced on a depicted body, they inevitably recalled the others.

Thevet goes on to say that the woman he observed 'would have been better known as a dog'. This reference to the woman's bestial nature invokes witches' depraved antics and the monstrous Cynocephali, but it also recalls another folkloric creature lurking in the forests of Europe: the wild woman.[23] Wild people were creatures of human physiognomy but animalistic customs, who

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20   Whitehead N. L., "The Ethnographic Lens in the New World: Staden, de Bry, and the Representation of the Tupi in Brazil", in Melion W. S. – Wandel L. P. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden – Boston: 2010) 98 suggests that finger-licking in other de Bry illustrations suggests fellatio, explicit sexual debauchery accompanying the gluttony of the cannibal feast. Bucher B., *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of Theodore de Bry's* Grand Voyages (Chicago – London: 1981) 46–64 offers a Structuralist reading of these women as placed within hierarchies of age, gender, and cannibal practice across the de Bry illustrations.

21   Bucher, *Icon and Conquest* 48.

22   Zika C., *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden-Boston: 2003) 394–95; see also Zika C., *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London – New York: 2007) 210–235. Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons* 375 notes that prior to 'children of Saturn' images, witches were rarely shown practicing cannibalism or vampirism.

23   Colin S., "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration", in Feest C. F. (ed.) *Indians in Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: 1987) 9–12 notes that Vespucci compares the Amerindians he encountered to fabled wild men and women. A Rostock edition of Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* recycles a woodcut of a wild couple as an illustration of Amerindian tribespeople.

resided in the forest, outside of civilization.[24] Bearing neither the accultura-
tion nor the corruption civilization offers, wild people were dyadic in nature,
at once brutal and naïve. The wild woman could be either a nurturer driven
by maternal instinct, or the monstrous inverse of this, a murderer and eater
of children.[25] As figures lurking just beyond the margins of Western culture
and imagination, wild people and peoples of the New World were often inter-
changeable for purposes of illustration. Sixteenth-century illustrators of travel
and ethnographic texts frequently inserted images of the fabled wild men and
women to represent the New World peoples they had never seen.[26] The dual
nature of the wild woman subsequently determined the various guises in which
Amerindian women appear, either as nursing mothers or savage cannibals.[27]

The women Thevet and Léry encountered in Brazil were phantoms, mere
projections of European fantasies of female cannibalism. The cultural reso-
nance of the female Amerindian cannibal was such that a century later, another
Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, claimed to see this same woman during
his own Brazilian sojourn. He writes that the old, shriveled tribeswomen '[…]
are so afraid to lose [any human flesh] that they lick the bars on which a few
drops of fat had fallen'.[28] These texts situate familiar demons in a faraway space,
and then export them back to Europe, reformulated as exotic monsters. Never
quite assimilated in her accepted venues, the cannibalizing woman embod-
ies a reflexively mediated play between near and far. Her inchoate character
lays bare the absence of confident approaches to mapping an ever-expanding
world and describing the unrecognizable bodies of its margins. She is a crea-
ture of unsettled geography, at once foreign yet uncannily familiar. By the time
de Bry published this image, she had already begun to occupy a miscellany of
locales. Why was this woman's body so easily transferrable? And how do her
American origins bear on her recontextualizations?[29]

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24   Colin, "The Wild Man" 6–7 glosses the numerous prototypes of wild people, which include
       (among others): 'fauns, centaurs, satyrs, and the gods Silenus and Silvanus […]'.

25   Husband T., *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: 1980) 4–5. Bächtold-
       Stäubli H. (ed.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* vol. 3 (Berlin: 1927–1942;
       reprint 1987) 1184–1189.

26   Colin, "Wild Man and the Indian" 5–29.

27   Ibidem 22–23 discusses the guise of the Wild Woman as idyllic nurturer. Zika, *Exorcising
       Our Demons* 394, note 32 points out the frequent juxtaposition of the nursing Amerindian
       tribeswoman and the cannibal feast.

28   Lestringant, *Cannibals* 124.

29   Leitch S., *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print and Culture*
       (Basingstoke – New York: 2010) 150 also addresses the continuous recontextualization of
       the feather-clad exotic in print media, as well as the transformation of this figure from

FIGURE 4.5 *Étienne Delaune*, Envy *(1575). Engraving, 5.6 × 8.1 cm. Paris, Louvre.*
            Photo: Martine Beck-Coppola. © RMN-*Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York.*

Exactly such a woman appears in two versions of a 1575 print by Étienne
Delaune, sitting before what appears to be a European village [Figs. 4.5 and
4.6].[30] Her distorted face, unkempt hair, and lack of costume render her
ethnicity ambiguous. She chews a straggly root, but a dismembered child
on a nearby platter indicates that she is a cannibal. The ethnic ambiguity of
Delaune's woman functions as a visual sleight of hand, allowing the New World
cannibal to be transported and seamlessly recontextualized into a European
setting, where she also invokes native witches and wild women. Although this
ethnic open-endedness facilitates a seemingly effortless migration across con-
tinents, it does not entirely mask traces of the New World. Precisely because of
her nudity and cannibalism, Delaune's figure is marked as an outsider, a dan-
gerous foreign element lurking just outside the safe, closed community of the

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supposedly ethnographic type to decorative motif. Mason P., *Infelicities: Representations
of the Exotic* (Baltimore – London: 1998) 1–6 writes that as a Western fabrication for
Western consumption, the exotic himself is the result of decontextualization, never 'at
home' in his various pictorial contexts.

30   Pollet C., *Les Graveures d'Étienne Delaune (1518–1583)*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Université
des Sciences Humaines, Strasbourg: 1995), vol. 2 663 characterizes the village in the
background as French in the INVIDIA print, and as German in the FAMES version.

FIGURE 4.6 *Étienne Delaune*, Famine *(1575). Engraving, 7 × 9 cm.*
Nashville, Vanderbilt University Fine Arts Gallery. Courtesy
Vanderbilt University Fine Arts Gallery.

village; outside the bounds of civilization, and indeed, of humanity. Her perch
on the edge of the 'civilized' European village establishes an anxious meeting
of worlds.

The various inscriptions applied to Delaune's figure—FAMES (famine)
and INVIDIA (envy)—demonstrate the ease with which she accommodates
disparate meanings, and consequently, the unresolved meaning of her body.[31]
Although envy is an abstract emotion and famine a palpable human condi-
tion, the cannibalizing woman provides an efficient sign to communicate
the depravity visited on both the psyche and the body by the two conditions.
This depravity is contingent upon the already established association of can-
nibalism with foreignness—the notion that famine or envy can make a body
something foul, 'other' than what it is or should be. Not only does this foreign
element contaminate and make monstrous the sufferer of these conditions,
but it also poses a threat to nearby bodies, potential victims of its hunger or
malice.

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31   It remains unclear why the print appears with two different inscriptions. The print
      belongs to a series of four. Pollet C., *Les Graveures d'Étienne Delaune*, vol. 2 662–664 posits
      that INVIDIA was the original inscription.

FIGURE 4.7 *Willem Janszoon Blaeu*, Regiones sub Polo Arctico
(*Amsterdam: Willem Janszoon Blaeu: 1642–1643*).
*Hand-colored map, 41 × 53 cm. San Marino,
Henry E. Huntington Library and Gallery. Detail
of upper part of the map. This item is reproduced
with permission from the Huntington Library,
San Marino, California.*

Cannibalism at the Edge of the Earth

Given the utility of the grotesque, cannibalizing woman as a symbol of geo-
graphic and existential disorientation, it is hardly surprising that those study-
ing Willem Janszoon Blaeu's *Regiones sub polo arctico* map and the *Atlas maior*
published by his son, Joan Blaeu, encounter her in the Arctic Circle, at the
northernmost region of the globe. In her simultaneous appearances in the
Americas and Europe, her body stages the uncomfortable dialectic of near ver-
sus far—the unsettling recognition of a familiar bogeyman in a 'new' world, as
well as the surfacing of foreign, uncivilized elements at home in Europe. In the
Blaeus' presentations of the Arctic regions, this staging occurs at the existential
edges of the map itself and of the known world.

The cannibalizing woman appears beside a cartouche atop the *Regiones sub
polo arctico* map [Fig. 4.7], devouring what appears to be a human organ, prob-
ably a heart. Just below the cartouche is the inscription, 'Still coldness dwells
there, and dread and terror, and hungry famine [FAMES]'.[32] On the other side
of the cartouche is an old man warming his hands over a pot of coals, possi-
bly a personification of winter. In the lower right corner are a couple of indig-
enous people and a polar bear. The cannibalizing woman reappears on the
frontispiece to the *Atlas Maior* Arctic maps (including the *Regiones sub polo
arctico* map), gnawing on what appears to be a human femur, next to a boulder
with the inscription, ARCTICA. Here, she appears with a wind god releasing icy
gales from a bag, an indigenous couple, and native fauna. The *Regiones sub polo*

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32   In the original Latin: 'Frigus iners illic habitant, pallorque, tremorque, et jejuna FAMES'.

arctico inscription indicates that the cannibalizing woman in these images is a personification of famine, but far from being a mere emblematic stamp, her body reinforces the extreme marginality of the Arctic, and signals the threat of vanishing that arises at the outer rims of the world.

Originally published in the mid-1630s, Blaeu's map was the most thorough Arctic map at the time, although it was a constellation of floating, disconnected fragments of landmass borders which trailed off into great voids of ocean and uncharted lands beyond them.[33] At the end of the sixteenth century, the Arctic zone remained undefined; a liminal space between North America, Greenland, Europe, and Asia, it was known as the 'Nova Terra' or *Meta Incognita.*[34] Situated here, the grotesque, cannibalizing woman derives from a long tradition of depicting monsters and other beastly creatures in the margins of medieval maps, signaling the danger of what lies beyond the knowable, or at least chartable, world.[35]

Her savage behavior and appearance also provide a metaphor for the harsh climate of the Arctic and the supposed barbarity its indigenous people.[36] Basing his texts on humoral theory, the philosopher Jean Bodin (1530–1596) locates cannibalism in the northernmost and southernmost climatic zones of the northern hemisphere. The 'strange cruelties' of the north are driven by the ravenous hunger and bestial nature of those who dwell there.[37] The cold, arid climate of the far north was the natural home of the robust, witless, and cruel melancholic whose temperament was governed by the cannibal god Saturn. Blaeu's map situates the cannibalizing woman, a loose composite of two of

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33   Goss J., *Blaeu's The Grand Atlas of the Seventeenth-Century World* (London: 1997) 27.

34   Sturtevant W. C. – Quinn D. B., "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577", in Feest C. F. (ed.) *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: 1987) 68.

35   Friedman J. B., *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge: 1981) 37–58 provides an overview of this medieval tradition. He writes, 'In those maps that give a theological turn to geography, monstrous men are symbolically the farthest from Christ of anything in the creation, and are represented in a narrow band at the edge of the world, as far as possible from Jerusalem, the center of Christianity'.

36   Friedman, *Monstrous Races* 42 notes that the presumed dependence of racial temperament on climate was familiar from as early as the time of Isidore de Seville, and that as mapmakers and cosmological theorists focused increasingly on the effects of climate on man, the location of the Plinian monstrous races at the edge of the world became an important factor in explaining their strange behavior and appearance.

37   Lestringant, *Cannibals* 86–87.

Saturn's children, witches and Amerindian cannibals, in a climate and geographic location suited to her natural barbarity.

Who exactly were these Arctic dwellers? Sixteenth-century Europeans were unsure. In England, they were known variously as people of Cathay, Tartars, even Moors. French sources call them *sauvages*; German and Dutch sources simply call them *wild*. European observers also consistently call them cannibals.[38] These haphazard, conjectural descriptions were symptomatic of the inchoate cartographic definitions of the region.[39] The indigenous people on the Blaeu map and on the atlas frontispiece are also ambiguous, bearing vaguely Caucasian features but also exotic fur costumes. The cannibalizing woman accompanies them in this faraway, inarticulate space, appearing once again where the specters of cannibalism, wildness, and the unknown converge.

The geographic knowledge recorded on Blaeu's map was the fruit of work by men who confronted—and in some cases experienced—their own vanishing in the Arctic seas. Blaeu used data from three Dutch voyages that set out to chart a passage to Asia through the Arctic seas between 1594 and 1596. The perilousness of these expeditions put into immediate, physical terms the risk of pursuing new knowledge, which necessitates a confrontation with the unknown. The polar location on the globe, frigid climate, still-unexplored geography, and impenetrability of the Arctic represented end points to both geographic knowledge and earthly existence.

The anxiety of disappearance is part of the cartographic record of the first polar voyage from 1594. On a map of Europe published by Cornelis Claeszoon in 1594, there appears beneath the incomplete coastline of the Russian territory, Novaya Zelmya, an inscription stating that an expedition had set out in July of that year to further explore the region, but that it had not yet returned.[40] The risk of disappearance involved in venturing to and gleaning knowledge about the Arctic region was thus inscribed directly onto Claeszoon's map.

This expedition and another financed by the States of Holland and Zeeland in 1595 were both forced to turn back due to ice.[41] In 1596, the third, notorious Barentsz expedition set out. Willem Barentsz (1550–1597), veteran of the 1594 expedition, piloted one of the ships, which sailed around Novaya Zelmya,

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38   Sturtevant – Quinn, "This New Prey" 62, 64, 68.

39   Ibidem 68–69.

40   Schilder G., "Development and Achievements of Dutch Northern and Arctic Cartography in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Arctic* 37, 4 (1984) 493, note 8.

41   One of the 1594 ships sailed just beyond Novaya Zelmya to the Kara Sea, bordered on the East by Siberia. Ibidem 493–496.

where it became trapped in ice; Barentsz and his crew were forced to camp there for the winter. The following year, the crew began its journey home in two open ships, during which Barentsz died.[42] Claeszoon published the cartographic results of this voyage and an illustrated, sensational account of the wintering by crew member Gerrit de Veer, in 1598.[43]

The dual catastrophes of shipwreck and near-starvation suffered by the Barentsz expedition are embedded into Blaeu's *Regiones sub polo arctico* map. In addition to cartographic data, mapmakers deemed the trials endured in gathering this knowledge critical to the compositions of their maps. Claeszoon included illustrations of the Barentsz wintering on a four-sheet map of the world. Jodocus Hondius published similar illustrations accompanied by text on four-sheet map of Europe in 1598, and Claeszoon included the illustrations again in a 1600 map of Asia. Willem Janszoon Blaeu was among the Amsterdam cartographers who first published data from the Barentsz expedition.[44] On Blaeu's map, the cannibalizing woman serves as a concise emblem for the brutal climate the explorers endured as well as the potential vanishing of their own bodies they faced in acquiring this knowledge.

Shipwreck and starvation invoke fears of cannibalism time and again. Both render the body disoriented, geographically and existentially, and, as we have seen, the image of the grotesque, cannibalizing woman is a figure of just such dual disorientation. She repeatedly appears as a stock type in textual and visual ethnographic observations by Europeans displaced to the New World. She also serves as a reference to bodies overwhelmed by their physical urges when put under the stress of starvation. As an emblematic figure recalling the specific threats of shipwreck and starvation, but one general enough to migrate among various contexts, the cannibalizing woman makes a suitable emblem for the frontispiece to and border of Blaeu's Arctic map. An itinerant figure, making her way across diverse venues in Western iconography, her ethnic ambiguity facilitates her multiplicity and manifold geographic settings.

Although cannibalism is not explicitly discussed in de Veer's account, it dogs the survivalist narrative. Shipwreck not only strands voyagers far from home, but undermines the safety of their community, as the individuals within it become competitors for resources, and ultimately, each other's potential

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42   Ibidem 497.

43   De Veer's account was published as *Waerachtige Beschrijvinghe van drie seylagien*. Schilder, "Development and Achievements" 497.

44   The four-sheet Claeszoon world map is known only through a copy by Claes Janszoon Visscher. Schilder, "Development and Achievements" 497.

food.[45] The transformation from comrade to dead meat appears in de Veer's memoir of the Novaya Zelmya wintering; he devotes an entire chapter to describing how a bear tore apart and ate two of the Barentsz crewmen.[46] The Barentsz expedition thus witnessed the transformation of their comrades from fellow humans with personalities and souls to victims of animal violence to anonymous food. Metaphorically, it was not so much the bear, but the Arctic itself that devoured these men as well as Barentsz. The Arctic was terrifying not merely because it was frigid and unexplored; it was a place where a body could disappear.

In the adventure or exploration narrative, the voyager's body is removed from its familiar context and faced with the prospect of no return; it is already in the process of vanishing. Stranded in a foreign place, the looming threat of becoming a victim of cannibalism, in which the body is rendered apart and thoroughly eradicated by incorporation into another, takes this anxiety to its ultimate conclusion. The peripatetic cannibalizing woman on Blaeu's map served as a decorative motif that not only signaled the strangeness and exoticism of the uncharted Arctic, but also gave expression to numerous threats of violent vanishing lying there in wait.

The Cannibal in the Cabinet

So far, this discussion has focused solely on the grotesque, cannibalizing woman as she appears in printed matter. The mechanics of the printing process, which allow for piecemeal dissection and rearrangement of woodblocks and plates, were critical both for the rapid and broad recontextualizations of cannibal images and, as Stephanie Leitch argues, for imagery of exotics in general.[47] However, early modern depictions of cannibalism were manifest in other media, including an oil miniature by Jan van Kessel,[48] and perhaps most spectacularly in an ivory figurine of a grotesque, cannibalizing woman by the

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45   Grigsby, *Extremities* 186 adds that shipwreck undermines the sense of community of those stranded. 'Cannibalism may have been associated with savages on shore but it was also a well-known tactic of survival among Europeans in states of crisis, particularly those adrift in that liminal space of the sea'.

46   Veer G. de, *The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions (1594, 1595, and 1596)*, eds. C. T. Beke – K. Beynen (New York: 1853) 62–64.

47   Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography* 146–150.

48   I thank Nadia Baadj for alerting me to this example. This painting depicts an Amerindian cannibal feast. It is in the Musée du Nouveau Monde in La Rochelle.

German sculptor, Leonhard Kern [Fig. 4.4]. Kern's woman sits on a plinth and holds aloft a severed human leg, which she devours. At her feet, a scared boy recoils. The woman's gnarled face and wiry hair are familiar from the Delaune and de Bry prints, as well as from the Blaeu map. As in those images, her body, while covered in loose, sagging skin, is nonetheless robust, a testament to her voracious appetite and carnality.

Kern's sculpture is largely devoid of landscape elements (a few small plants appear next to the child) and the woman herself bears no identifying costume or accouterments. The grotesqueness of her features obscures explicit ethnicity, although the boy appears to be Caucasian. Despite these narrative lacunae, the woman herself can be located—not in a specific pictorial space, but in the European curiosity cabinet, or *Kunstkammer*. Ivory was common in such collections; its exotic origins appealed to collectors with a taste for the rare and spectacular, and its physical qualities allowed it to be carved into complex, almost gravity-defying compositions with glossy finishes, eliciting pleasurable astonishment from spectators.[49] Kern was part of a focused, largely German, industry of sculptors who produced such ivories for the *Kunstkammern* of elite collectors.[50] With this work, Kern poses a set of challenging questions about the pleasures of wonder and fascination to his audience. What is the grotesque's power to captivate? What satisfaction can derive from regarding violence? Kern recasts the horror of cannibalism as marvel by coyly invoking fantastical characters and exotic geographies invoked by the grotesque, cannibalizing woman.

The ambiguous identity of Kern's figure is one of her most striking features, and it has invited numerous speculations, including the earth goddess, Gaia, and allegories of famine and envy along the lines of Delaune's figure.[51] However because Kern's figure remains so resistant to identification, it is more likely that she is in fact the same migrating cannibal discussed herein, constantly appearing in new contexts as a site of diverse existential anxieties expressed through fantasies of cannibalism. These fantasies draw upon

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49   Daston L. J. – Park K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: 1997) 272.

50   The ivory cannibal's provenance remains mysterious; at least two other versions of this sculpture carved in wood emerge from his workshop. One is listed in the 1693 inventory of Duke Carl Rudolf of Württemberg-Neuenstadt. See Grünenwald E., "Beschreibender Katalog", in Siebenmorgen H. (ed.), *Leonhard Kern (1588–1662): Meisterwerke der Bildhauerei für die Kunstkammern Europas* (Sigmaringen: 1988) 186; Fleischhauer W., "Die Kunstsammlungen der Herzöge von Württemberg-Neuenstadt", *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Württemberg-Franken* 58 (1974) 212.

51   Grünenwald, "Beschreibender Katalog" 181–186.

traditional folkloric beliefs in creatures such as witches as well as on the established practice of accusing minority groups or those outside the central power structure—religious minorities, and later, newly 'discovered' peoples—of eating human flesh.[52] In each of the previously discussed spaces the cannibalizing woman's body signals the spectator's potential disappearance at points of cultural contact or geographic disorientation. Alternately, she can surface 'at home' in Europe, as the insidious threats of famine and envy, ready to wreak havoc on body and community alike. As a *Kunstkammer* object, she occupies the private chambers of noble courts or elite households, close to the heart of European power, in highly controlled venues designed to stage 'pleasant paradoxes' through surprising juxtapositions.[53] By rendering such a grotesque scene in luxurious ivory, Kern establishes one such paradox, capitalizing on the thrill of the horrific to manufacture delightful spectacle.

The sculpture's material preciousness counterbalanced by the disturbing subject is but one such surprise encoded in Kern's work. The ivory draws other clever connections with the cannibalizing woman. The material's initial manifestation as an animal's tooth reinforces the bestial nature of the cannibal and adds a bit of dark humor to the explicit depiction of her own teeth tearing into the human leg. Ivory's insistent, physical presence is vital to staging the dialectics of fear and pleasure, material seduction and repulsion that make this work spectacular. Furthermore, Kern's work also shows not just the devouring of one human by another, but also the self-devouring of sculpture, as one sculptural 'fragment' appears to vanish into another, 'complete' sculpture.[54] Kern thus renders the ivory sculpture itself unstable, subject to being chewed up by its own teeth.

Moreover, ivory's non-European origins underscore the exoticism of the cannibalizing woman herself. The otherness of the woman is signaled by her ethnic ambiguity and monstrousness, the latter of which is ironically emphasized by the ivory, a material traditionally invoked to materialize beauty (i.e. 'ivory skin'). Furthermore, the ivory, which is both exotic and traditionally imbued with magical qualities,[55] hints at the occult, foreign associations of the cannibalizing woman.

52   Kilgour, *Communion to Cannibalism* 5.

53   Daston – Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* 260.

54   Tokumitsu M., *'Die Kleine, die Feine, die Reine, die Eine': The Sculpture of Leonhard Kern (1588–1662)* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania: 2012) 218.

55   Hansmann L. – Kriss-Rettenbeck L., *Amulett und Talisman: Erscheinungsform und Geschichte* (Munich: 1966) 102.

Ivory also underscores the geographic confusion stubbornly attached to the cannibalizing woman. Specifically, it continues the troubling conflation of the East and West Indies long present in German visual culture. In the sixteenth century, German printmakers recycled woodblocks used to create images of the Americas in ethnographic pictures from the Malabar Coast. In fact, one image that made just such a migration was of a Brazilian cannibal barbeque, taken from an Augsburg broadsheet and reappearing in Georg Glockendon's 1511 woodcut of Malabar people.[56] By the seventeenth century, large quantities of ivory flowed into Europe from Africa and South Asia, imbuing the material not just with vague exoticism, but also with the more specific connotation of the East Indies.[57] Through its iconography and material, Kern's sculpture is another site where the East and West Indies blend together in the European imagination. Rather than transporting the spectator abroad, the sculpture brings these foreign elements into the European *Kunstkammer*, where the spectator encounters this cannibal not as a palpable threat to his person, but as a lurid spectacle.

The venue of the *Kunstkammer*, with its clever confounding of art and nature as discrete ontological categories, proved the ideal space for these unintuitive dualities of Kern's work to unfold. There, the violent bodily vanishing staged by Kern's sculpture elicits not revulsion, but wonderment and amused fascination; the horrific is made precious. The costly material and spectator's dominant gaze upon the miniature sculpture[58] render the horror of cannibalism as curiosity. The *Kunstkammer* provided a venue where visual wit favored the disconcerting or disorienting qualities of objects that defy familiar categories, and where witnessing bodily eradication could be made pleasurable.

As a spatial metaphor, the borders of the human body provide a neat analogical division of inside and outside. These limits shape the definitions of the self, the community, and the universe. Cannibalism signifies violent ruptures of these literal and metaphorical borders, as well as the dismantling of the body's structural integrity. In early modern Europe, the practice, and indeed the word itself, originated outside a Euro-centric power structure and was ascribed to the grotesque crone, a familiar folk figure originating from inside

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56   Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography* 149.

57   The exhibition catalogue, Seipel W. (ed.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance* (Milan: 2000) provides an overview of the global trade for exotic materials and artifacts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

58   Stewart S., *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: 1984) 54.

the continent. Her body bears no fixed emblematic meaning, but serves as a testament to physical anxiety and apprehensions about visual representation when confronting the unfamiliar and strange, whether 'at home' in Europe or in the farthest reaches of the world.

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Empathy and the Constitution of the Self

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Picturing the Soul, Living and Departed

Nathalie de Brézé

In an engraving entitled *Memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis*[1] [Fig. 5.1], Hieronymus Wierix invents an allegory in which the human soul's journey is mapped out, from the moment it departs the body to the different spheres through which it is carried. Five medallions surrounded by an inscription stand for the point of departure (earthly life), the 'crossing-points' (Christ's Passion, the Last Judgment) and the potential destinations that can be reached by the soul (heaven or hell). The only step pictured differently is purgatory, here symbolized not by a medallion but by a basin of which the content is on fire. Paths on which appear inscriptions, all of them quotations from the Bible, link the medallions and the basin.

That the reading of this engraving should begin with the medallion in the lower left corner is shown by the quote around it: 'And as it is appointed unto men once to die'.[2] Clearly indicating that the medallion is devoted to death (i.e. the soul departing from the body), this inscription makes it the starting point of the soul's course. Many causes of death are depicted: a sentenced person being executed, a man falling head-down, another one drowning and a fourth one being knocked out by a falling rock. Two other characters, armed with swords and shields, are engaged in a fight. To these different kinds of situations causing death (punishment for a crime, accident, war) are opposed two men that embody devotion: one praying on his death bed in front of a crucifix, the other sitting on a chair with his hands together and his eyes turned towards the medallion on which the crucified Christ is shown. To these various kinds of deaths correspond three different paths that depart from the first medallion—each of them leading to a different direction.

The first path, symbolically located beside the pious men, leads directly to the central medallion where the crucified Christ appears, surrounded by symbols recalling his Passion. Around it, one can read: 'he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him',[3] that is to say that only the penitent

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1 This is a quote from the Ecclesiasticus (7:40): 'in all thy works be mindful of thy last end and thou wilt never sin'. For this paper, all the translations from the Bible come from *The Holy Bible. King James Version* (Peabody: 2007).

2 'Statutum est hominibus semel mori', Epistle to the Hebrews (9:27).

3 'factus est omnibus obtemperantibus sibi causa salutis aeternae', Hebrews (5:9).
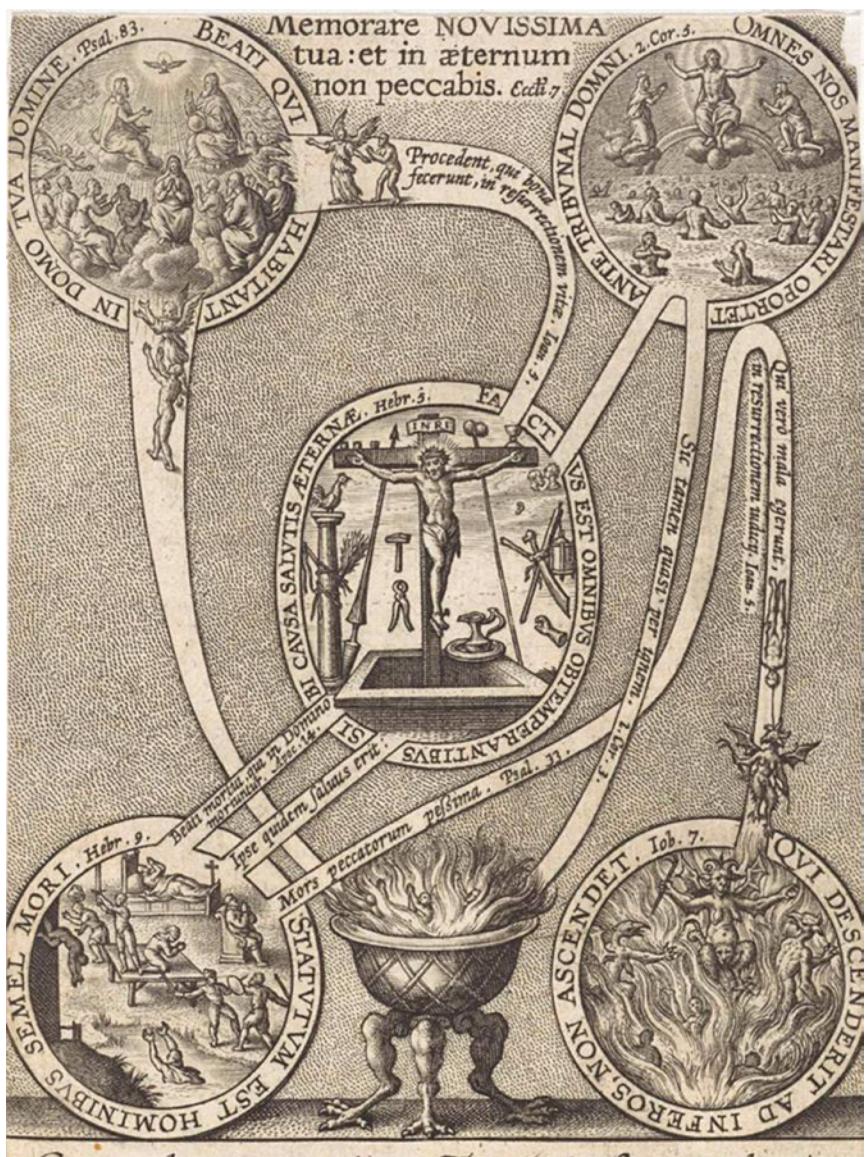
and pious faithful can be saved, and that their salvation is only possible through Christ. From here the path continues its course, linking the medallion of the crucifixion with the one in the upper left corner, in which one can easily recognize paradise, with the Father, the Son and the dove of the Holy Spirit welcoming the Virgin and the Blessed. On this path appears the inscription: 'they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life',[4] which suggests that virtuous souls will rise. Walking on this path, one of these souls is depicted with human features; the asexual body that represents the soul is naked, hands clasped and accompanied by an angel pointing at paradise, which the two figures are about to enter.

The second path, inscribed 'he himself shall be saved',[5] even if it also passes through the medallion of the Crucifixion, leads not to heaven but to the medallion in the upper right corner, on which is depicted the Last Judgment, as suggested by the quote: 'For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ'.[6] This situation is suited to people who died accidentally and had no time to repent for their sins. Their souls are judged by Christ and then descend to the purgatory, where they have to pray for their salvation. Above the basin, a new inscription, 'yet so as by fire',[7] states that souls can be saved if purged by fire. For those souls, the path does not stop there, but rises out of the purgatory to get to the medallion of heaven. Though an angel once again guides it, the soul depicted is now repentant, arms raised above its head in sign of penitence.

In the last case, the soul does not pass through the medallion of the Crucifixion; nonetheless it almost reaches the one of the Last Judgment. This implies that if one has led a sinful life (symbolized by the condemned person in the first medallion), his or her soul cannot be redeemed and, therefore, descends directly to Hell. The corresponding medallion, at the bottom right corner, is surrounded by a quote from Job that points out that, once in hell, there is no hope of escape: 'so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more'.[8] Inside this medallion, souls are burning under the supervision of Satan. The quotes on the path leading to hell come from the Book of Psalms: 'The death of the wicked is very evil',[9] and from the Gospel of John: 'they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation'.[10] The latter is to be linked with that which leads to paradise, not only because they are taken from the

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4   'procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae', John (5:29).

5   'ipse quidem saluus erit', 1 Corinthians (3:15).

6   'Omnes nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal domini', 2 Corinthians (5:10).

7   'sic tamen quasi per ignem', 1 Corinthians (3:15).

8   'qui descenderit ad inferos non ascendet', Job (7:9).

9   'Mors peccatorum pessima', Psalms (33:20).

10   'qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii', John (5:29).

same passage of the Gospel, where they follow each other, but because each evokes resurrection in terms of reward or punishment. But this time, though it is still depicted under a human form, the soul, chained by the neck, is cast down to hell by a demon.

With this engraving, which depicts the various paths the soul might take once detached from the dead body, the viewer is encouraged to meditate on his own life, *imitatio christi* and penance, which, as stated in the cartouche below the image, is a necessary sacrament in order to go to heaven: 'They are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them. O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!'[11] Wierix's highly original composition appears like a game board on which the human soul is moved from one square to another. To picture the soul, Wierix resorted to a naked and asexual human body, thus following an iconographic tradition established since the late Middle Ages.[12] This blend of innovation and legacy in Wierix's engraving leads to the question that this paper tries to address: how is it possible to portray the human soul?

Except for episodes such as the Last Judgment, the judgment of souls by St. Michael and scenes set in the Limbo or the purgatory, it is worth noticing the small number of images of the second half of the 16th century and early 17th century in which the soul plays a central role. This can probably be explained by the fact that representing the soul is far from an easy task. Indeed, how can something which is not a physical entity be perceived, let alone be taken as a model? Besides, it is all the more difficult to conceive the soul as existing apart from the body because it is precisely in its relationship to the body that it is traditionally defined: the soul is what breathes life into the body. Furthermore, the dual nature of the human being, consisting in the combination of a body, carnal and perishable, and a soul, spiritual and incorruptible, leads to the question of the immortality of the soul, as opposed to the mortality of the body. This opposition is to be found regularly in the writings of the Evangelists, in order to encourage the faithful to choose the virtuous path over the one that leads to hell. This is in this sense that Jesus says:

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11   'absque consilio est et sine prudentia. Utinam saperent et intellegerent ac novissima providerent', Deuteronomy (32:28–29).

12   On the medieval representations of the human soul, see among others Markow D., *The Iconography of the Soul in Medieval Art* (New York: 1984); Baschet J., "Ame et corps dans l'Occident médiéval: une dualité dynamique, entre pluralité et dualisme", *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 112 (2000) 5–30; Barasch M., "The Departing Soul. The Long Life of a Medieval Creation", *Artibus et Historiae* 26 (2005) 13–28; Appiano Caprettini A., *Anima e forma: studi sulle rappresentazioni dell'invisibile* (Torino: 2005).

> And fear not them [persecutors] which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.[13]

The connection between body and soul after death, however, remains ambiguous: is the soul given its body back when it resurrects? In fact, there are three major different views on the subject: according to Paul, the resurrected body is purely spiritual;[14] according to others, such as Gregory of Nyssa, it transforms itself into an ethereal body like the one of an angel;[15] according to another tradition, led by Augustine, it finds itself again in its full materiality.[16] Likewise, the ways to picture the soul in the afterlife are manifold. Its intangible and spiritual nature was of course one of the main issues associated with its representation because, despite its invisibility, it had to be depicted on multiple occasions. It goes without saying that the presence of the soul is essential to any representations of episodes such as the Judgment of souls in the purgatory or the Last Judgment.

It seems that the shape of an animal was initially adopted to represent the soul,[17] according to the ancient tradition in which it was first depicted as a bird or a butterfly.[18] Only later was the soul represented in human form.

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13   Matthew (10:28).

14   'So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body', 1 Corinthians (15:42–44).

15   'Now the resurrection promises us nothing else that the restoration of the fallen to their ancient state; for the grace we look for is a certain return to the first life, bringing back again to paradise him who was cast out from it. If then the life of those restored is closely related to that of angels, it is clear that the life before the transgression was a kind of angelic life, hence also our return to the ancient condition of our life is compared to angels', Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Making of Man* (XVII, 2), trans. H. A. Wilson, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series. Vol. V, Gregory of Nyssa, Dogmatic Treatises* (New York: 2007) 407.

16   '[…] the resurrection of the flesh the body shall be of that size which is either had attained or should have attained in the flower of its youth', Augustine, *The City of God*, XXII, 20, trans. M. Dods, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. First Series. Vol II, St. Augustine: City of God, Christian Doctrine* (New York: 2007) 499.

17   Appiano Caprettini, *Anima e forma* 105–127.

18   In the depictions of the myth of Prometheus, the butterfly symbolizes the soul that will be introduced into the inanimate human body to give life to it. See Panofsky E., *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: 1964) 30–31.

One might say that the zoomorphic pattern gave way to the anthropomorphic one, but things are not so clear-cut, for, even when a human form prevailed, an animal element was sometimes kept: butterfly wings. This 'hybrid' soul results from the reinterpretation of the pagan iconography into a Christian context,[19] especially concerning the theme of human resurrection. Indeed, by detaching itself from the dead body, the soul acquires wings to fly into the celestial world. The butterfly symbolizes the transformation—i.e. the purification—of the soul, which leaves its cocoon (the body) so as to be reborn under a new form. This can be illustrated by a passage from the *Divine Comedy* where Dante uses this metaphor to define the purgatory as a place of transition between life and death:

> O Christians, arrogant, exhausted, wretched,
> Whose intellects are sick and cannot see,
> Who place your confidence in backward steps,
> Do you not know that we are worms and born
> To form the angelic butterfly that soars,
> Without defenses, to confront His judgment?
> Why does your mind presume to flight when you
> Are still like the imperfect grub, the worm
> Before it has attained its final form?[20]

The image of the transformation of the chrysalis into a butterfly symbolizing the resurrection became a very popular metaphor of the soul, but zoomorphism gradually tended to disappear in favor of a purely human form, probably due to the Council of Vienne (1311–1312), which reaffirmed that 'anima is forma corporis', a principle enunciated by Thomas Aquinas after Aristotle.[21] Unlike some theologians who believed that the body is a temporary garment worn by the soul, Aquinas thought that the soul is not an autonomous entity imprisoned in the body, but its substantial form.[22] Thus, the soul was defined

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19   This way to match pagan myths and Christian themes has been well studied by Seznec J., *The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York: 1953).

20   'O superbi cristian, miseri lassi, / che, de la vista de la mente infermi, / fidanza avete ne' retrosi passi, / non v'accorgete voi che noi siam vermi / nati a formar l'angelica farfalla, / che vola a la giustizia sanza schermi? / Di che l'animo vostro in alto galla, / poi siete quasi antomata in difetto, / si come vermo in cui formazion falla?' Canto X, 121–126, trans. A. Mandelbaum, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (Berkeley: 1982) 90.

21   Aristotle, *De anima*, trans. D. W. Hamlyn (Oxford: 1968), II, 2, 414a13–14.

22   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* (New York: 1947), Prima Pars, q. 76, art. 1, "respondeo".

as *form of the body*, which means that it is the principle thanks to which the body is what it is (i.e. a human body and not an inanimate one).[23] In other words, according to Aquinas, even though the soul is not the body, no soul is without body.[24]

But another reason should be dwelt upon: the human form was eventually preferred for a didactic purpose. Due to the success of the *Ars moriendi*, the period saw a proliferation of mortuary pictures depicting the human soul.[25] The aim of these books, often illustrated and intended for a wide audience, was to provide for the reader a moral teaching through examples of how one should act when facing death. Therefore, the soul was depicted in the guise of an anthropomorphic being, often similar to a child, which gradually flies forth from the dead body [Fig. 5.2]. Previously, the anthropomorphic image of the soul was only used in the representation of biblical episodes such as the death of the bad thief, the hanging of Judas, or the death of the Virgin, etc. However, from the 15th century onwards, artists began to depict the soul of an anonymous deceased person, in order to involve the viewer more directly. In most of these pictures, the soul is depicted as a naked person, so as to distinguish it from the dead body. Another regular feature is the presence of angels and demons fighting over the departed soul, which puts the emphasis on the conflict between good and evil that each person experiences [Fig. 5.3]. Indeed, the purpose of such images was to enable the viewer to identify himself with the dead character, and to show him that he holds his destiny in his own hands. The fact that the soul is represented by a young naked being, not necessarily similar to the image of the dead body, symbolizes the equality of all men facing death: everyone will be judged according to the life he has led. Thus, this type of image, which enjoyed a considerable success, particularly in the late 16th-century Netherlands, tends to encourage the viewer to meditate on his own life and to repent.

Parallel to this iconography featuring anonymous men, illustrations of its biblical equivalent, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, developed. In this story, related in the Gospel of Luke (16:19–31), two opposed kinds of existence are subject to differing judgments. The parable is about a rich man who lives happily without worrying about Lazarus, whose destitute life forces him to sleep on the rich man's doorstep. When Lazarus dies, angels carry him to Abraham's bosom, while the rich man is cast down to hell, begging Abraham for mercy.

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23   *Forma* is here a technical word; in no way should it be understood as meaning 'shape'.

24   Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri de anima*, lib. 2, lec. 4, n. 15.

25   On this point, see Reinis A., *Reforming the Art of Dying: the "Ars moriendi" in the German Reformation: 1519–1528* (Aldershot: 2007).
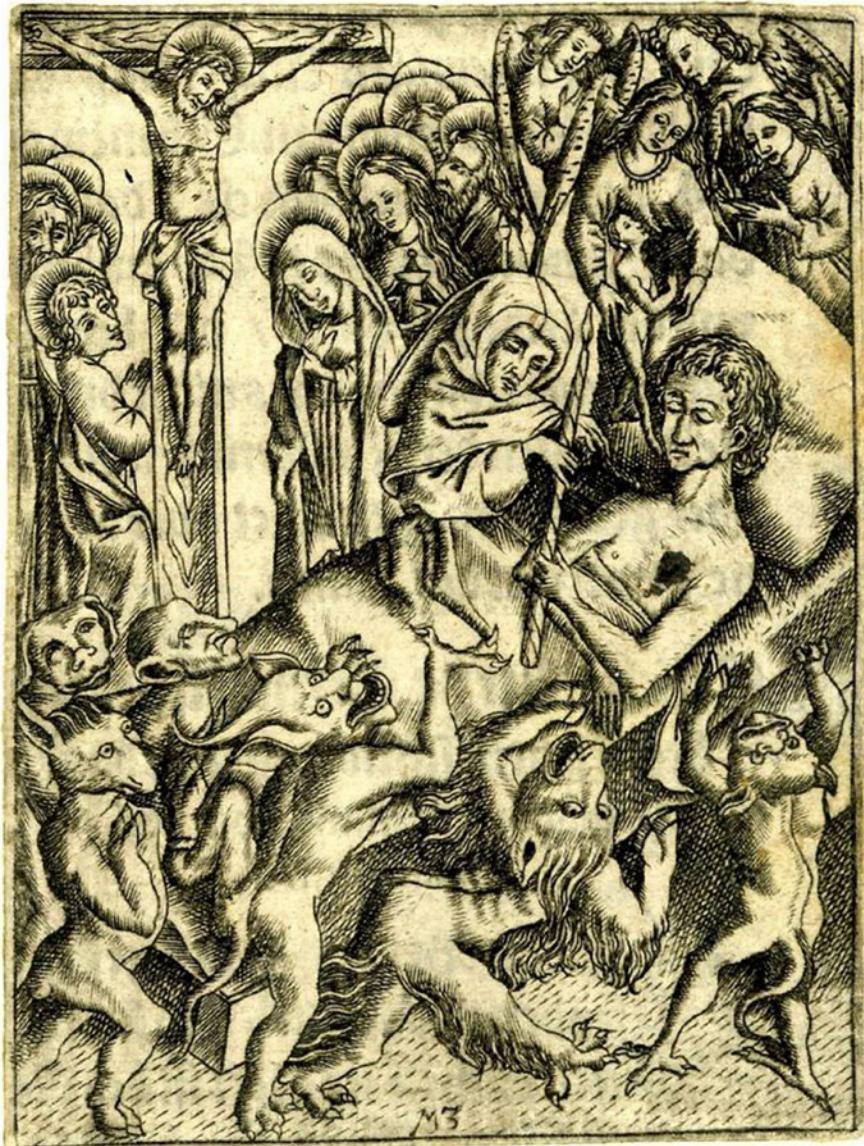
FIGURE 5.2 *Master MZ*, The Triumph over All Temptations at the Moment of Death, *from an*
Ars moriendi (*s.l., s.p.: c. 1500–1510). Engraving, 88 × 67 mm. London, British
Museum.*

FIGURE 5.3 *Carel van Mallery after Jan van der Straet,* Death of a Penitent Man (*ca. 1596*). *Engraving, 224 × 117 mm. London, British Museum.*

FIGURE 5.4   *Pieter van der Borcht I*, The Death of the Rich Man (*c. 1575–1600*). *Engraving, 242 × 296 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

This Biblical episode was repeatedly illustrated, particularly in engravings facing each other, such as the pair of prints by Pieter van der Borcht depicting on one side the death of the rich man [Fig. 5.4] and on the other side that of Lazarus [Fig. 5.5]. While the body of the former lies lifeless in a four-poster bed placed in a rich interior, the body of the latter lies on straw in a makeshift shelter. The soul of the rich man, taken by force by three demons, struggles in vain while Lazarus reaches heaven, hands clasped, guided by two angels.

Two features of the souls are to be examined in order to fully appreciate van der Borcht's prints: their size and their nakedness. Rendering the soul smaller than the corpse suggests that it was contained in the body. In other words, the body is nothing but an envelope of flesh of which man is stripped at the time of his death. Having this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why the departed soul is naked: once separated from its materiality, it is like someone who has taken off his garments. Moreover, the nakedness of the souls symbolizes that all men are equal before death: detached from earthly goods they cannot be rich or poor. An engraving by Crispijn van de Passe I after Maerten de Vos

FIGURE 5.5   *Pieter van der Borcht I*, The Death of Lazarus (*c. 1575–1600*). *Engraving, 242 × 296 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

also uses nudity to represent the souls of the two protagonists of the parable [Fig. 5.6]. The separation between heaven and hell is clearly established: Lazarus, sitting in the lap of Abraham, is in heaven, surrounded by angelic figures, while the rich man, begging the Prophet to redeem his sins, falls into the fiery mouth of the Leviathan, surrounded by many demons. For the sake of readability, the souls of the rich man and Lazarus have here been represented with a corporeal aspect, thus following the traditional iconography in which these two characters are portrayed in old age. This iconography, particularly exploited since the Middle Ages, still appeared in numerous moralizing engravings, which indicates its popularity in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The picture of the soul underwent a metamorphosis when the animal form tended to become that of a little naked man. The human form may have been preferred because it enabled the viewer to assimilate himself to the protagonists portrayed in these kinds of prints. This can also be explained by the number of mortuary images printed since then, which do not always agree on the place where the soul is supposed to be situated in the body. Indeed, most of the time,

FIGURE 5.6   *Crispijn van de Passe I after Maerten de Vos*, The Rich Man and Lazarus (*1589–1611*).
            Engraving, 223 × 260 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

the soul escapes through the mouth or the head of the deceased.[26] However,
the question of where the soul resides in the body is not obvious, since, by
nature, it is spiritual, that is to say foreign to any spatial dimension. A long
tradition makes the heart the seat of the soul; this theory was popular among
artists of the 16th century, particularly in emblem books such as the series of
prints entitled *Cor Jesu amanti sacrum* by Antonius Wierix II, published in
1585.[27] In this cycle, the soul is symbolized by a heart, in which a personifica-
tion of the divine love, represented in the guise of the Child Jesus, makes it
pious by purifying it, and then instructs it before uniting itself with it [Fig. 5.7].[28]

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26   The head was sometimes considered as the seat of the soul, especially after the publication
      of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* by Guillaume de Deguileville, c. 1355–1358.

27   Antonius Wierix II, *Cor Jesu amanti sacrum*, 1585, reprinted in Mello Gabriel de, *Les
      Divines opérations de Jésus dans le cœur d'une âme fidelle* (Paris, van Merle: 1673).

28   Cf. Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature
      spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Genève: 2005) 361–362.

This type of depiction of the soul is totally new and seems to be one of the first cases where the soul is depicted as still present in the body, rather than having departed. This print recalls a famous passage of Augustine's *Confessions*, in which he endeavors to seek God through his own soul.[29] Indeed, Wierix's most original innovation was to depict the love of God *within* the soul.

This collection of cordial emblems probably inspired Otto Vaenius, who reused the anthropomorphic figure of Divine Love, which, once again, is associated with a soul, this time represented under a human form, in an emblem book published in 1615 under the title of *Amoris divini emblemata*.[30] In the fields of emblems, he seems to have been the first one to resort to an anthropomorphic representation of the soul.[31] Thus the journey of the soul to God is given a new iconography, the success of which can be measured by the number of variants that it inspired until the early 18th century.[32]

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29   Augustine, *Confessions*, X, VII, 11.

30   Vaenius Otto, *Amoris divini emblemata, studio et aere Othonis Vaenii concinnata* (Antverpiae, Martin Nutij et Joannes Meursius: 1615). On this book, see particularly: Buschhoff A., "Zur gedanklichen Struktur der *Amoris divini emblemata* des Otto van Veen (Antwerpen 1615)", in Manning J. – Porteman K. – Van Vaeck M. (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries* (Turnhout: 199 9) 39–76; Thøfner M., " 'Let your Desire be to See God': Theresian Mysticism and Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata*", *Emblematica* 12 (2002) 83–103; Bloemendal J., "Een emblematics en zijn inspiratie. De bronnen van Otho Vaenius' *Amoris divini embl e mata*, Antwerpen, 1615 – ontlening en adaptatie", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taa l -en letterkunde* 118 (2002) 273–287; Buschhoff A., *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen: die Amorum emblemata (1608) und die Amoris divini emblemata (1615)* (Bremen: 2004); Boot P., "A Mirror to the Eyes of the Mind: Metaphor in Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp, 1615)", in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni A. (eds.), *Emblemata sacra: Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images* (Turnhout: 2007) 291–304; Boot P., "Playing and Displaying Love: Theatricality in Otto van Veen's *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp 1615)", *Emblematica* 16 (2008) 339–364; Boot P., "Similar or Dissim i lar Love? *Amoris divini emblemata* and Its Relation to *Amorum emblemata*", in McKeown S. (ed.), *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books* (Glasgow: 2012) 157–173.

31   Cf. Guiderdoni A., "Figures de l'âme pèlerine: la méditation emblématique aux XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles", *La meditazione in età moderna. Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa*, 41 (2005) 718.

32   Such as: Hugo Herman, *Pia desideria, emblematis, elegiis et affectibus SS. Patrum illustrat* (Antverpiae, Henricus Aertssens: 1624); Guyon Jean-Marie Bouvier de la Motte, *L'âme amante de son Dieu, representée dans les emblèmes de Hermannus Hugo sur ses pieux désirs: & dans ceux d'Othon Vaenius sur l'amour divin. Avec des figures nouvelles accompagnées de vers qui en sont l'application aux dispositions les plus essentielles de la vie interieure* (Cologne, Jean de La Pierre: 1717).

FIGURE 5.7 *Antonius Wierix II*, Cor Jesu amanti sacrum (*1575*), *reprinted in Gabriel de Mello*, Les Divines opérations de Jésus dans le cœur d'une âme fidelle (*Paris, van Merle: 1673*) *14.*

In Vaenius' emblems, Divine Love, which looks like an angel (endowed with wings and a halo), guides the human soul, here appearing in the guise of a winged little girl.[33] Not only does this pair of characters recall the mythological couple of Psyche and Cupid,[34] but also a couple often depicted since medieval times: the man (here echoed by *Anima*) guided by his guardian angel (echoed by *Amor divinus*).[35] If *Anima* wears wings here, it is not to mean that the body to which she is linked is dead, but to indicate that the soul, seat of emotions and intellect, is the entity whereby a human being acts.[36] In this representation

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33 According to Pierre Poiret, editing Madame Guyon, if the soul is represented as a child, that is because it must be innocent and pure in order to meet God: 'Elle est clairement dépeinte dans toutes les figures de ces Emblèmes sous la forme d'un enfant ; ce qui marque, que l'ame qui veut entrer & persévérer dans la communication avec Dieu & son divin Amour, doit être douée des aimables & enfantines qualités d'innocence, de simplicité, de pureté, de desapropriation, de candeur, de benignité, de docilité & de flexibilité à se laisser conduire & gouverner à Dieu comme un petit enfant, sans répugnance, sans présomption, sans fierté, sans malice, sans fraude & sans duplicité de cœur', Guyon, *L'âme amante et son Dieu* 23. On this point, see Guiderdoni A., *"L'âme amante de son Dieu* by Mme Guyon (1717): Pure Love between Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam, at the Crossroads of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy"*, in Gelderblom A.-J. – de Jong J. L. – van Vaeck M. (eds.), *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs* (Leiden: 2004) 311.

34 Cf. Knipping J. B., *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven or Earth* (Nieuwkoop – Leiden: 1974) 51; Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen* 164–165. It is also necessary to note that Vaenius partly rehabilitated the collection of emblems of profane love, which he published in 1608 under the title *Amorum emblemata* (Antverpiae, venalia apud auctorem: 1608), turning them into religious emblems at the request of the Archduchess Isabella.

35 On this point, see Guiderdoni A., "La polysémie des figures dans l'emblématique sacrée", in Adams A. (ed.), *Emblems and Art History* (Glasgow: 1996) 97–114; Guiderdoni A., "Les figures angéliques dans les recueils de méditation emblématiques des XVIe et XVIIe siècles", *La parte dell'angelo 1—Documenti di lavoro e pre-pubblicazioni* 370–372 (2008) 26–27. Since the 11th century, a widespread belief held that humans could be conceived without a guardian angel watching over them and a devil seeking to tempt them. On this point, see Faure P., "L'homme accompagné. Origine et développement du thème de l'ange gardien en Occident", *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 28 (1997) 199–216. On the development of devotion to the guardian angel in the Flanders since the 17th century, see Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands* 109–118.

36 We can also explain that it wears wings since it was the traditional attribute of the soul. Cesare Ripa depicted it thus in his *Iconologia*. According to him, the wings can be justified through the spiritual and volatile nature of the soul, and because they are also signs of intelligence and will. Cf. Ripa Cesare, *Iconologia, overo Descrittione di diverse imagini cavate dall' antichità et di propria inventione, trovate et dichiarate . . .* (Rome, Lepido Faci: 1603) 21–23.

of the soul, Vaenius breaks new ground on two fields. First, he illustrates not only the different stages of the action of divine love on the soul (*via purgativa, via illuminativa, via unitiva, via inferna*), as was the case in the engravings by Wierix, but also the initiatory path of a soul heading towards the *unio mystica* (the soul having the ability to achieve perfection in uniting with God). Second, the soul is no longer a passive substance that solely depends on its faith; it covers a path which, as in earthly life, is fraught with pitfalls, doubts, difficulties to overcome adversity and not succumb to vice, etc. All these aspects are described in Vaenius' book, where the path of the soul to heaven or to God is a metaphor for life on earth where men, through their choices, can achieve mystical union. This device illustrates perfectly the meditative function proper to emblem books on divine love, where the process of visualization uses empathy to help the reader identify himself with *Anima*. This identification is only possible inasmuch as the soul is depicted in human form. So meditating on the path of the soul is equivalent to meditating on one's own future. In other words, as rightly noted Peter Boot, *Anima*, in the book of Vaenius, must be allegorically seen as the viewer's double.[37]

In addition to the journey of the soul, we can see that, in the *Amoris divini emblemata*, some emblems evoke the fate of a soul that does not follow the path of the faithful and loving soul. For instance, in the emblem entitled "Sine amore mors" (Without love there is death), *Anima* seems asleep, leaning on a skull symbolizing death [Fig. 5.8].[38] At her side, Divine Love is trying to attract her attention by waving his bow using one hand and, with the other, attempting to get an arrow out of his quiver in order to rekindle the love that the soul previously had for him. The death of the soul is also symbolized by the fact that its wings are tied up and thus prevented from moving. In the quotations Vaenius has chosen for this emblem, there is a passage from the First Epistle of St. John, which states that love prevails over death:

> […] He that loveth not abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer. And you know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.[39]

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37   Boot, "A Mirror to the Eyes of the Mind" 299.

38   The Bible often compares death to sleep. In exegesis, sleep can sometimes take the negative meaning of spiritual numbness, cf. Chrysostom, *A Treatise on the Compunction of the Heart* II, 1.

39   'nos scimus quoniam translati sumus de morte in vitam quoniam diligimus fratres qui non diligit manet in morte. Ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam'. 1 John (3:14–15).

FIGURE 5.8 *Otto Vaenius*, Sine amore mors, *part of his* Amoris divini emblemata, studio et
            aere Othonis Vaenii concinnata (*Antwerp, Martin Nutij et Joannes Meursius:
            1615*) *55*.

Another quote, from the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* of St. Augustine, affirms the
death of the soul, which is full of hatred:

> 'Fear of death has fallen on me': the prophet calls brotherly hate 'death',
> for our life is love. If life is love, death is hate. Once man has started to fear

> that he hates whom he once loved, he fears death. And it is a more painful
> and deeper reaching death by which the soul, not the body dies.[40]

In other words, the soul that refuses to follow God's love is doomed to die.
On the contrary, the loving soul will merge with divine love to form a single
being, as illustrated in the emblem entitled 'Finis amoris ut duo unum fiant'
(The end of love is That Two Become One) [Fig. 5.9]. The quotations written
for this emblem underline that faith unites devout souls,[41] and that the love of
God promises an unalterable union:[42] the mystical union represented by the
embrace of *Anima* and *Amor divinus*.

In this sense, the human soul and the divine love depicted by Vaenius recall
the nuptial mysticism where *Anima* can be seen as a personification of the
sponsa that loves God in the Song of Songs, and thus, in a larger extent, be
interpreted as a symbol of Christianity.[43] The *unio mystica* represented under a
human form shows the viewer the experience of salvation through the process
of meditation with more persuasion that if it were depicted with symbolic or
abstract forms.

Their relationship also remains that of Christ and the loving soul, which can
be found in emblem books as well as in some engravings, as evidenced by the
one entitled *The Spiritual Garden* [Fig. 5.10], printed by Claes Jansz. Visscher
in 1650. In a circular garden, the human soul, this time featured without wings
but with a crown, is guided by an angel on the various stages of the Passion of
Christ: the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus' capture, the scourging, the crowning
with thorns, the Ecce homo, the road to Calvary and finally, in the center of the
garden, the crucifixion on a palm tree, symbol of glory and immortality. That
the soul is crowned suggests that it should be regarded as the bride of Christ.

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40   Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 54:7.

41   'And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in
     me. That they may all be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee; that they also may be
     one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me'. John (17:20–21).

42   'Give yourself to me, my God, give yourself back to me. It is You I love, and though it be
     too little, I cannot mete out my love in a stronger way, so as to know how much I love to
     be Lack Sufficient for my life to enter Your embrace', Augustine, *Confessions*, XIII, 8.

43   Christ's *sponsa* can either be interpreted as the Church or, in individual mysticism, as
     the human soul loving Christ. Vaenius, in his *Amoris divini emblemata*, uses Bernard of
     Clairvaux's arguments. Indeed, in his *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, he describes
     mystical life through the relationship between the loving and faithful soul and the *sponsus*.
     Amor divinus is guiding *Anima* on the path of the knowledge of God. The experience of
     God's love plays indeed a central role in Vaenius' emblems and leads to the *unio mystica*.
     On this point, see Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen* 167.

FIGURE 5.9 *Otto Vaenius*, Finis amoris ut duo unum fiant (*Antwerp, Martin Nutij et Joannes Meursius: 1615*) *59.*

Above the cartouche, which explicitly addresses the viewer,[44] two entries in vignettes at the two lower ends of the engraving provide a dialogue between

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44   'Vien, toy qui aimes Christ, contemple tout à plein / Les parterres et fleurs de ce sacré jardin: / Voy sa prière ardant au parc de l'Angélique / Ses liens dans celui de l'aloé heptatique / Voy dans celui des cloux comme il fut attaché / Dans la couronn' royal' comme il fut mesprisé / Et dans l'oublie-point ses détresses contemple / Dans l'herbe de la croix son amour sans exemple / Et au milieu de tout comme il fut abbruvé / De myrre

FIGURE 5.10   *Anonymous, printed by Claes Jansz. Visscher*, The Spiritual Garden (*c. 1650*).
Engraving, 408 × 535 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Christ and the soul.[45] Christ invites the soul to enter the garden and to walk
with him the Way of the Cross. The soul, appearing in several places of the
image, follows the various episodes to which she is guided by the angel. She
walks with her hands clasped, and is flooded with sadness when Christ car-
ries his cross. Her emotions become calmer when she arrives before the cross,
before which she kneels and collects her thoughts. This image encourages the
devotional act and leads the faithful to meditate, like the soul, on the mystery
of the Passion, inciting them to stop at each station of the *Via Crucis* and to
question the potential for their own salvation.

Although Vaenius and many of his followers pictured *Anima* as a winged
little girl guided by *Amor divinus*, Boëtius a Bolswert, in Antonius Sucquet's *Via
vitae aeternae*, published in 1620, replaced it in some engravings with a man

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très-amer, pour t'avoir tant aimé / Sache que c'est parla qu'il fault qu'en patience / Tu
passes pour jouir un jour de sa Présence'.

45   'Christ: Ame dévote, entre chez moy / En ce jardin dressé pour toy / Cueille les fruits des
mes travaux / et Joie auras en tous tes maux'. 'L'âme: O Jesus tu es mon désir / En toy seul
gist tout mon plaisir / Donnez moy de jouir a plein / Des fruicts benits de ton jardin'.

guided by an angel [Fig. 5.11].[46] Like in Vaenius' emblems, the angel, which can be perceived as the double of *Amor divinus*, shows him the damaging effects of sin and the benefits of leading a virtuous life. As for the man, he is almost always seen from behind, which enables the viewer to recognize himself in him and projects himself into each episode of his pilgrimage. As a result, the man could be considered as a personification of the viewer's soul.[47] The first engraving of the book, 'Considera, o homo, finem tuum et vias tuas'[48] [Fig. 5.12], recalls Hieronymus Wierix's engraving [Fig. 5.1], even if the composition is not as schematized. The text that accompanies the image states that two ends are conceivable once a man dies (B): a good one (C) and a bad one (D)—in other words heaven or hell. The Blessed may be confronted to three different paths which all lead to heaven, paths that are drawn differently (G): the straight one, which leads directly to heaven, is reserved for the pious, the serpentine one for clergymen, and the winding one for seculars. Contrary to Wierix's engraving [Fig. 5.1], where the soul was indifferently depicted with the features of a naked and asexual being, Bolswert portrays them with earthly characteristics [Fig. 5.12]: seculars appear as a man and a woman dressed trendily, clergymen wear the biretta, and pious men a cowl symbolizing their hermitic life. This triple path can be understood as the *via purgativa*, the *via illuminativa* and the *via unitiva*. To these three states finally correspond the three souls which are in front of the Trinity (H): the thief bemoaning his fate, handcuffed; the poor praying hands clasped; and the crowned *sponsa*, touched by the Holy Spirit. In this engraving, the man is not guided by the angel yet. Depicted in the foreground, he appears as the viewer's double, not only because of his meditating posture, but because of the fact that the text accompanying the image is

46   Sucquet Antoine, *Via vitae aeternae iconibus, illustrata per Boëtium a Bolswert* (Antverpiae, Martin Nutij: 1620). On this book, see particularly Black C., "Popular Devotional Emblematics: A Comparison of Sucquet's *Le Chemin de la Vie Eternelle* and Hugo's *Les Pieux Désirs*", *Emblematica* 9 (1995) 1–20; Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 357–358; Catellani A., "Pour une sémiotique de l'"image dirigée' dans la littérature jésuite: syncrétisme, narrativité, énonciation dans le *Chemin de la vie éternelle* d'Antoine Sucquet", in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni A. (eds.), *Emblemata sacra: Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images* (Turnhout: 2007) 109–125; Melion W. S., "*Ad contemplationis aciem* (Toward Keen-Sighted Contemplation). The Image of the Picturing Soul in Antonius Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* of 1620", in Melion W. S., *The Meditative Art. Studies in the Northern Devotional Print 1550–1625* (Philadelphia: 2009) 151–187.

47   According to Guiderdoni, "La polysémie des figures dans l'emblématique sacrée" 112, this figure may also serve as a personification of the soul in the abstract.

48   Sucquet, *Via vitae aeternae* 2.

FIGURE 5.11   *Boëtius a Bloswert*, Ante orationem praepara animam tuam, *part of
Antoine Sucquet*, Via vitae aeternae iconibus, illustrata per Boëtium a
Bolswert (*Antwerp, Martin Nutij: 1620*) 86.

FIGURE 5.12   *Boëtius à Bloswert*, Considera, o homo, finem tuum et vias tuas, *part of Sucquet,*
Via vitae aeternae [...] (*Antwerp, Martin Nutij: 1620*) 2.

written in the imperative and hence addresses the viewer.[49] Like the seculars, he wears contemporary fancy clothes, which means that he is at the beginning of his journey (*via incipientium*)—just like the viewer. The purpose of this book, which reflects itself in its tripartite structure, is to guide the viewer through a meditative pilgrimage in order to teach him how to reach the *via unitiva* announced in the first engraving.

To sum up, during the 16th and 17th centuries, the representation of the soul in human form continues a tradition started in the late Middle Ages, especially in episodes such as the death of the rich man and Lazarus or in iconographies of anonymous individuals on their deathbed. But, during this period, the anthropomorphic depictions of the soul have found a new development in the field of emblems. The soul is not only depicted as a spiritual element that separates from the dead body to follow passively its afterlife fate, but as a living entity that wonders which lifestyle is the best and, based on that deliberation, acts for its own salvation. But this salvation would not be possible if it were not for God's help: in the same way that some philosophers and theologians think of the soul as the immanent principle vivifying the human body, emblematists think of the divine love as the immanent principle vivifying the human soul. Emblem books were used for didactic and meditative purposes and their authors as well as their illustrators encourage their readers to identify themselves with the main character, that is to say, for the examples taken in this paper, to *Anima*. This assimilation is all the more possible that they have before their eyes an anthropomorphic depiction of the soul.

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49   Ibidem: 'Considera coram Deo, quo fine creatus fis […]'.

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Patience Grows: The First Roots of Joris Hoefnagel's Emblematic Art

Marisa Bass

The story goes that Joris Hoefnagel, while still a child, was thwarted in his pursuit of art.[1] Born to a family of merchants in the metropolis of sixteenth-century Antwerp and reared to take up the familial trade, he is said to have vented his stifled yearning to draw by scribbling in dust on the floor and doodling in chalk on attic walls.[2] It was a distinguished household guest who saw those doodles and finally convinced Hoefnagel's parents to let the boy pursue the art to which nature disposed him, albeit alongside his other studies.

Although Hoefnagel's biographer Karel van Mander loved to fabricate mythical stories of artistic origins such as this one, his account is not all fiction. What Van Mander tells us of Hoefnagel's later life is born out in his oeuvre, namely that Hoefnagel only began to pursue a full-fledged artistic career well past his youth. After his family lost their wealth to plundering soldiers during the Spanish Fury of 1576—among the more devastating events of the Dutch Revolt – Hoefnagel left Antwerp permanently and found artistic patronage

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2   Miedema H. (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the* Schilder-boeck *(1603–1604)*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1994) I 308–309: 'Van seer rijcke Ouders die hem tot de Coopmanschap tegen de natuere worstelende, aendronghen: want zijn gantsche oft aldermeeste gheneghen-theyt tot de Schilder-const streckende, niet mochten lijden, dat den Jonghen t'huys oft in't Schole dede, t'gene hem de Moeder natuere stadich gheboodt, en niet laten en con. Was hem in de Schole van den Meester t'papier benomen, hy vergaderde het mul oft zandt op den vloer, en troc daer in met een steck oft vinger: t'huys verborghen op solder met crijt. En hadde een reys op een planck met d'een handt zijn ander gheconterfeyt. T'welck siende een Gesant van den Hertogh van Savoyen, ten huyse van den Vader gheherberght wesende, sprack ten besten, soo dede den School-meester, soo dat Hoefnaghel t'zy weynigh oft veel hem tot het teyckenen mocht veronledighen'. For further discussion of this anecdote, see also Vanhaelen A., *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park: 2012) 27–33.

abroad first with Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol in Munich and later with the
Emperor Rudolf II in Frankfurt and Vienna.[3] As Van Mander declares in the
opening lines of Hoefnagel's biography, art often proves to be a refuge, 'espe-
cially in times of war and emigration'.[4]

Hoefnagel is best known today for his stunning manuscript illuminations
of plants, animals, and insects such as those found in his volumes of the *Four
Elements*, a project begun shortly before his flight from Antwerp [Fig. 6.1].[5] The
miniatures throughout these volumes, situated in oval frames and accompa-
nied by an erudite array of Latin quotations and biblical verses, clearly derive
inspiration from the thriving contemporary genre of the emblem book.[6]
Through his productive pairing of text and image, and his masterful mimetic
skill at representing everything from dragonfly wings to porcupine quills,
Hoefnagel explores the relationship between divinely created nature and his
own creative powers as a painter. Indeed, Hoefnagel repeatedly inscribed his
works with the phrase *natura magistra* ('nature his teacher'), proclaiming
nature as both source and object of his artistic efforts.[7]

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3 For Hoefnagel's biography, see Vignau-Wilberg T., "Joris Hoefnagel, the Illuminator", in
   Hendrix L. – Vignau-Wilberg T. (eds.), *Mira Calligraphiae Monumenta: A Sixteenth-Century
   Calligraphic Manuscript Inscribed by Georg Bocskay and Illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel*
   (Malibu: 1992) 15–28, and Vignau-Wilberg T., *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii,
   1592. Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich: 1994) 17–20.

4 Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives*, trans. Cook-Radmore, I 306–309: 'Een beter ghe-
   wente bevind' ick by ons Nederlanders, als wel by ander volcken in gebruyck te wesen, dat
   de Ouders, of sy schoon machtigh van rijckdom zijn, hun kinderen veel tijts vroegh oft in
   hun jeught laten leeren eenige Const oft Ambacht, het welck besonder in tijt van krijgh, en
   vervluchten wonder wel te pas can comen'. For commentary on this passage, see also ibidem,
   V 12–14.

5 The most thorough study of the *Four Elements* volumes remains Hendrix L., *Joris Hoefnagel
   and the Four Elements. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting*, (Ph.D. dissertation,
   Princeton University: 1984). See also Kaufmann T. D., *The Holy Roman Empire: A Selection
   from North American Collections, 1540–1680* (Princeton: 1982) 154–157, no. 56; Idem, *The School
   of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago: 1988) 202–203, no. 9.1; and Hendrix L.,
   "Of Hirsutes and Insects: Joris Hoefnagel and the Art of the Wondrous", *Word & Image* 11
   (1995) 373–390.

6 For Hoefnagel's engagement with the emblem genre, see the foundational study by Vignau-
   Schuurman T. A. G. W., *Die Emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, 2 vols.
   (Leiden: 1969).

7 See Hoefnagel's inscriptions in the *alba amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius (Cambridge,
   Pembroke College, MS. 2.113 fol. 6v, 1 September 1574) and Emanuel van Meteren (Oxford,
   Bodleian Library, Douce 68 (21642) fol. 5 verso, 6 December 1575). See also Ortelius A., *Album*

FIGURE 6.1   *Joris Hoefnagel, "Ex scabro in levem numquam vertetur echinus", part of his*
Animalia Quadrupedia et Reptilia (Terra) *from the so-called* Four Elements
(ca. 1575–1582). Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C.,
National Gallery of Art (1987.20.6.4). Image © National Gallery of Art.

However, Hoefnagel's foray into the emblematic genre began even earlier with
a volume that has received far less attention. Hoefnagel's *Patientia*, or *Patience*,
which he created in 1569, consists of twenty-four drawings and accompany-
ing poems—written by the artist himself—expressing the impact of the
Dutch Revolt on his native land.[8] The structure of each folio is indebted to the

Amicorum, ed. J. Puraye – M. Delcourt (Amsterdam: 1969) 16–17, and Rogge H. C., "Het
Album van Emanuel van Meteren", *Oud Holland* 15 (1897) 166. Hoefnagel also employs the
phrase *natura magistra* in his 1579 miniature representing an *Allegory with Muses* (Berlin,
Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 4804).

8   For a facsimile of the manuscript, with commentary and transcriptions of the poems, see
Roosbroeck R. van, *Patientia: 24 Politieke Emblemata door Joris Hoefnagel* (Antwerp: 1935). See
also Vignau-Schuurman, *Die Emblematischen Elemente* 243–245; Dorsten J. A. van, *The Radical
Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: 1970) 53; Boon K. G., "*Patientia*
dans les gravures de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas", *Revue de l'art* 56 (1982) 9–10; Kaufmann T. D.,
"The Nature of Imitation: Hoefnagel on Dürer", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*

emblem genre in its combination of image, title, and verse commentary.[9] On first glance, the drawings in *Patience* seem wholly unrelated to his illuminations in subsequent works like the *Four Elements*. A man fleeing shipwreck, a merchant accosted in the street, wayward shepherds in the fields—these compositions dominated by human figures are an anomaly within Hoefnagel's oeuvre [Figs. 6.2–6.4].[10] Is there a link between this work and his intensive study of nature in later years?

Past scholarship on *Patience* has tended to interpret the volume solely in terms of its overarching theme, characterizing its contents as an expression of Neostoic thought and Calvinist faith.[11] If one were to seek a counterpart to Hoefnagel's *Patience* in contemporary writing, an obvious choice would be the 1584 treatise *On Constancy* by the great Netherlandish humanist Justus Lipsius.[12] In the opening chapter of the treatise, Lipsius's protagonist expresses

in Wien 82/83 (1986/87) 169–170; Idem, *The Mastery of Nature. Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: 1993) 89; Tanis J., "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt of the Netherlands", in Tanis J. – Horst D. (eds.), *Images of Discord. A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr: 1993) 10–23; and Jacoby J., "Salus generis humani. Some Observations on Joris Hoefnagel's Christianity", in Konečný L. – Vácha S. (eds.), *Hans von Aachen in Context. Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, 22–25 September 2010* (Prague: 2012) 119.

9   The literature on emblem books is vast. For a recent discussion of the emblem format, see Graham D., " 'Emblema multiplex'. Towards a Typology of Emblematic Forms, Structures and Functions", in Daly P. M. (ed.), *Emblem Scholarship: Directions and Developments. A Tribute to Gabriel Hornstein*, Imago Figurata Studies 5 (Turnhout: 2005) 131–158.

10   Hoefnagel's drawings of cities and vistas for Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne: 1572–1617) do include numerous figures, but there they serve foremost as a means of guiding the viewer into the composition. On these drawings, see the introduction in Braun G. – Hogenberg F., *Civitates Orbis Terrarum. The 'Towns of the World', 1572–1617*, ed. R. A. Skelton, 3 vols. (Cleveland: 1965) I vii–xxi. See also Popham A. E., "Georg Hoefnagel and the Civitates Orbis Terrarum", *Maso Finiguerra* 1 (1936) 183–201; Nuti L., "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye", *Word & Image* 4 (1988) 545–570; Meganck, T. L., *Erudite Eyes. Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University: 2003) 140–158; and Alsteens S. – Buijs H., *Paysages de France dessinés par Lambert Doomer et les artistes hollandaise et flamands des XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: 2008) 213–220, nos. 58–60. Hoefnagel's only other representation of human figures as the primary subject are his two miniatures of the hirsute Pedro Gonzalez and his children in the opening folios of the *Ignis* volume from the *Four Elements* series. On these miniatures, see Hendrix, "Of Hirsutes and Insects" 375–379.

11   See note 8 above.

12   On Lipsius's Neostoic thought, see Saunders, J. L., *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York: 1955); Oestreich G., *Neostoicism and the Early Modern*

FIGURE 6.2 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Patient in Adversity", part of his* Patientia *(1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (*Leber 2961*). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

FIGURE 6.3 *Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Merchant", part of his* Patientia *(1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*
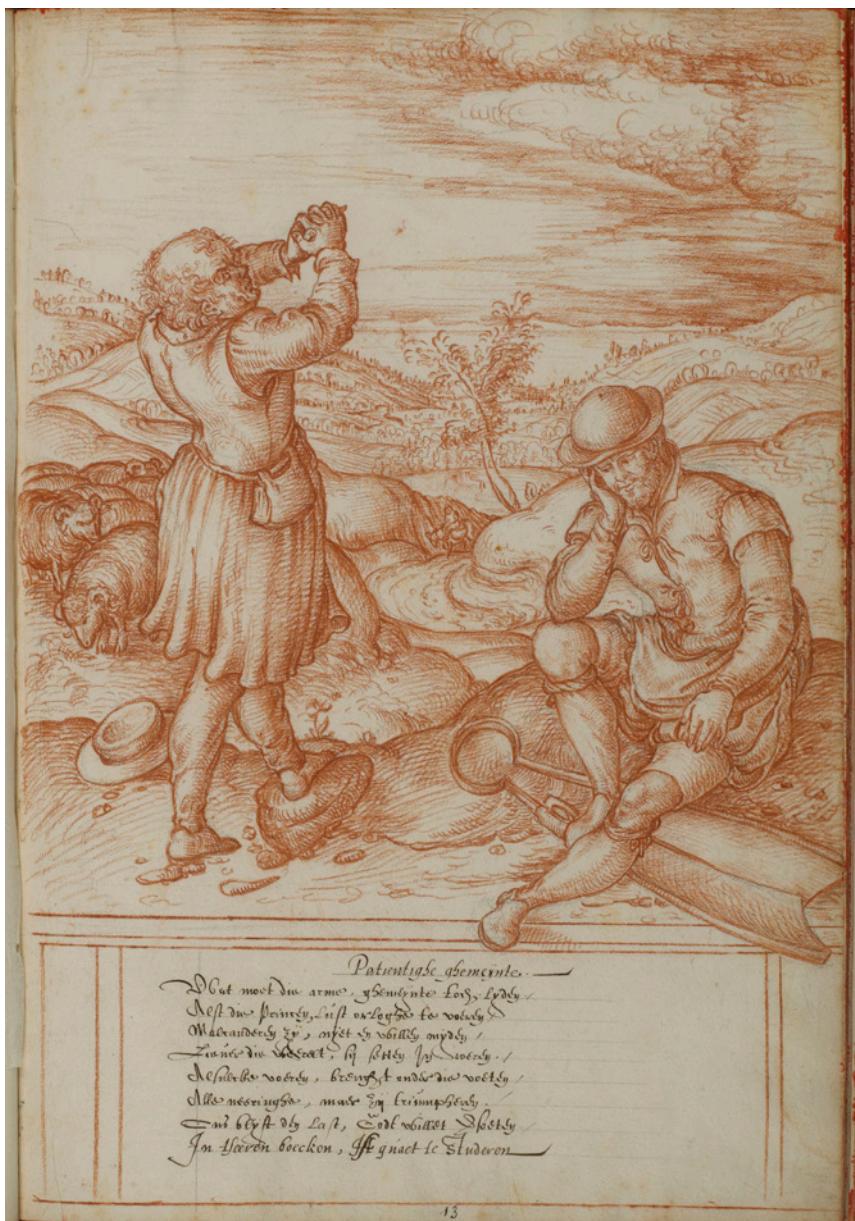
FIGURE 6.4 *Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Masses", part of his* Patientia *(1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

his desire to flee his war-torn country but is soon counseled instead to find inner peace and strength of mind, and to seek example in the divine order governing the natural world. Lipsius explicitly names Patience the mother of Constancy, defining the virtue as willing and ungrudging sufferance of whatever fate befalls a man.[13] We will see that Hoefnagel's *Patience* parallels these ideas quite closely.

Nonetheless, *De Constantia* postdates Hoefnagel's creation by several years, and neither Lipsius's writings nor any strain of philosophy or spiritual belief can wholly account for the status of *Patience* as one of the most visceral artistic responses to the Dutch Revolt. Closer examination of the volume, as well as the context of its making, suggests that *Patience* had a very personal significance for Hoefnagel's development as an artist and individual. This essay reconstitutes *Patience* as foundational to Hoefnagel's creative endeavor and engagement with the natural world. Through an anthropomorphic approach to the figure of Patience, Hoefnagel speaks not in abstract allegorical terms but in those of lived experience. Like the protagonist of Lipsius's treatise, Hoefnagel explores throughout the volume the need for patience during troubled times, and ultimately finds that the truest form of this virtue, rather than residing in the realm of human civilization, lurks instead in the groves and valleys of the surrounding landscape.

Patience between Friends

The year 1569 found Hoefnagel in England, where he had fled briefly—prior to his permanent emigration from Antwerp—to seek respite from the religious and political turmoil at home. The Dutch Revolt against Spanish rule had been precipitated in 1566 when radical Protestants unleashed a series of iconoclastic attacks in cities throughout the Netherlands.[14] The iconoclasm spurred the

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State (Cambridge: 1982); Morford M., *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: 1991); McCrea A., *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650* (Toronto: 1997); and Lagrée J., "Constancy and Coherence", in Strange S. K. – Zupko J. (eds.), *Stoicism: Traditions and Transformations* (Cambridge: 2004) 148–176, esp. 152–159.

13   Lipsius Justus, *De constantia libri duo* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1584) 11: 'At Constantiae vera mater, Patientia et demissio animi est. Quam definio rerum quaecumque homini aliunde accident aut incident voluntariam et sine querela perpessionem'.

14   On the iconoclasm and early years of the Dutch Revolt, see Backhouse M., *Beeldenstorm en bosgeuzen in het westkwartier (1566–1568). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de godsdiensttroebelen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVIᵉ eeuw* (Kortwijk: 1971); Scheerder J.,

Catholic King Philip II of Spain to send a throng of Spanish troops into the Low Countries to squelch the mounting reform movement. The heightening of the Inquisition, coupled with trials of accused Protestant sympathizers, soon made the region, and Antwerp in particular, a dangerous place in which to pursue any form of artistic or confessional expression.[15] The commercial enterprise that had established Antwerp as the leading trading port of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century suffered no less amidst the violence and political upheaval.

As a result, Hoefnagel found company during his English sojourn in a growing expatriate community of Netherlandish merchants, artists, and scholars who had likewise fled their native land.[16] It was this community that formed the intimate setting for the creation of *Patience*, specifically Hoefnagel's friendship with the learned merchant and reformist sympathizer Johannes Radermacher who had settled in England just a few years earlier in 1567.[17] Radermacher was born in Aachen but like Hoefnagel had launched his mercantile career in Antwerp, where his religious views had presumably made it untenable for him to remain. A surviving manuscript album that Radermacher compiled full of writings by scholarly friends attests to his cultivated interests.[18] *Patience*

De Beeldenstorm (Bussum: 1974); Parker G., *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: 1977); Duke A., *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: 2003) 125–151; Arnade P., *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: 2008) 90–259; Groenveld S., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden* (*ca. 1560–1650*) (Zutphen: 2008), and most recently Jonckheere K., *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm. Experiments in Decorum, 1566–1585* (New Haven: 2012) 7–27; and Groen P. (ed.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Van opstand naar geregelde oorlog, 1568–1648* (Amsterdam: 2013) 37–56.

15   On this point specifically, see Marnef G., *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Baltimore: 1996) 109–152.

16   This community remains understudied. See Forster L., *Janus Gruter's English Years. Studies in the Continuity of Dutch Literature in Exile in Elizabethan England* (Leiden: 1967), and Bostoen K. *Dichterschap en koopmanschap in de zestiende eeuw. Omtrent de dichters Guillaume de Poetou en Jan vander Noot*, Deventer Studiën (Deventer: 1987). See also Dorsten, *The Radical Arts* 26–39, 50–61, and Aston M., *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: 1993) 167–199.

17   For Radermacher's biography, see Bostoen K., *Bonis in bonum. Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538–1617), humanist en koopman* (Hilversum: 1997).

18   For Radermacher's album, see Bostoen K. J. S. – Binnerts-Kluyver C. A. – Hattink C. H. E. J. – van Lynden-de Bruine A. M. (eds.), *Het album J. Rotarii. Tekstuitgave van het werk van Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538–1617) in het* Album J. Rotarii, *Handschrift 2465 van de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent* (Hilversum: 1999). Radermacher also

too marks the beginning of a creative exchange between Radermacher and Hoefnagel that would prove lasting. Twenty years later the artist would also produce for his friend a splendid flower still-life and allegorical painting on friendship.[19] Hoefnagel pays homage to his collaboration with Radermacher and credits him as commissioner of the *Patience* volume in a sonnet on its opening folio [Fig. 6.5]:

> The spirit was troubled, restrained by the body,
> Distrusting and anxious from great apprehension.
> God has roused the spirit quickly out of its misery;
> No suffering is so great that time cannot reduce.
>
> With you as his instrument who came to visit me,
> To offer a friendly invitation to the noble and pure art
> That God gave me, I sprang as if from the dead,
> With the spirit full of fantasy, and set it to work.
>
> Considering the present course of these astonishing times,
> Perseverance and patience are needed from all sides.
> Being myself in the same misery, I took this as my subject.
>
> Now then, my work finished, albeit rough and of little impact,
> Goes to Radermacher. He will not scorn you
> Because he thinks as a friend; show him my open heart.[20]

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engaged with other Netherlandish artists among the English émigré community, notably with Lucas de Heere, whom he mentions in a letter to Abraham Ortelius (London, Friday, 5 March 1568). See Ortelius A., *Abrahami Ortelii* (*geographi Antverpiensis*) *et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum* (*Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium*). *Epistulae*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge: 1887) 57, no. 24.

19   *Still-Life with Flowers for Johannes Radermacher*, 1589 (Middelburg, Zeeuws Museum, 11.8 × 16.3 cm, inv. no. M98-072-01), and *Allegory on the Friendship between the Artist and Johannes Radermacher*, 1590 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, oil on panel, 22.5 × 4.5 cm, inv. no. 1308 (OK)).

20   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 5 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9: 'Den gheest sijnde beroert, doer tlichaems arresteren / Mistroestich en benaut, doer dapprehencie groot. / Heeft godt den gheest verweckt, wel haest al wijt den noot. / Gheen lijden toch zoe groot, den tijdt die candt mineren. / Ghij als sijn instrument, die quaempt mij visiteren / Vrindelijck inviteren, tot d'edele conste bloot / Die Godt mij heft ghegheven, ick spranck als van die doot. / Des gheest vol fantasijen, en ghinck hem imploijeren. / Den loop present aensiende van wonderlijcke tijden / T'verdrach en patiencia, van nood' aen alle sijden / Sijnd' oock int selve lijden, nam t'selve voer mijn subiect. / Nu dan mijn werck volmaeckt, maer rou, en
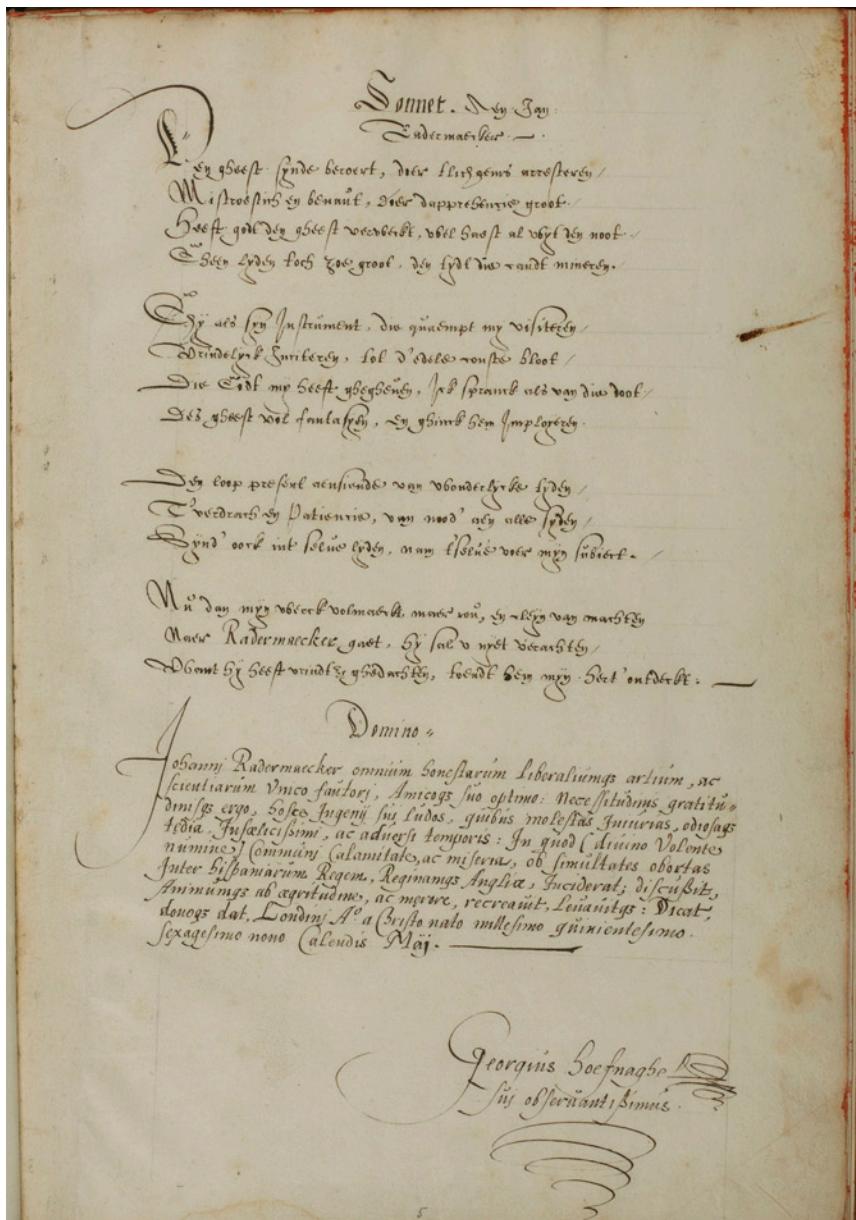
FIGURE 6.5 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Sonnet to Jan Radermacher", part of his* Patientia *(1569).*
Ink on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961).
Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

Hoefnagel proclaims Radermacher an instrument of divine will whose 'friendly invitation' to create the volume provided a consolation from the fear and misery caused by the 'astonishing times' in which they lived. Not only does Hoefnagel express that patience is a necessity in times of war; he also demonstrates the need for friends who can join together under difficult circumstances and who, like Radermacher, will look with sympathetic heart and mind upon his creation. It is no coincidence that Hoefnagel closes the drawings in *Patience* with an image that represents a festive gathering of friends, which the artist declares the best of all possible contexts in which to embrace the volume's eponymous virtue [Fig. 6.6].[21] A handful of images and poems in *Patience* also dwell on the plight of the Antwerp merchants that both Hoefnagel and Radermacher knew intimately, and it is plausible that they discussed the volume's contents together in the process of its creation. Even the languages that Hoefnagel employed in writing his verses—Dutch, French, and Spanish—reflect the vernacular diversity of Antwerp's mercantile world.

Literary and linguistic dexterity was no less important to the volume than its imagery, as further indicated by Hoefnagel's inclusion of a second dedication at the bottom of the same folio. Hoefnagel here writes in Latin prose rather than Dutch verse, and in a distinct cursive script, addressing Radermacher as 'a singular patron of all the noble liberal arts and sciences, and his best friend' while also implicitly acknowledging their mutual command of both languages.[22] This second dedication provides the precise circumstances of the work's creation; Hoefnagel declares that he dedicated and presented the volume to Radermacher in London on 1 May 1569 and specifies that the adverse times to which his sonnet alludes encompassed 'the rivalry that had sprung up between the King of Spain and the Queen of England'. The antagonism between Philip II and Elizabeth regarding the freedom of Anglo-Dutch trade was another side-effect of the unrest in the Netherlands and was particularly

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cleyn van machten / Naer Radermaecker gaet, hij sal u nijet verachten / Want hij heeft vriendtz ghedachten, toendt hem mijn hert ontdeckt'.

21   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 53 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 25, no. 24.

22   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 5 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9: 'Domino Johanni Radermaecker omnium honestarum liberaliumque artium, ac scientiarum unico fautori, amicoque suo optimo: necessitudinis gratitudinisque ergo, hosce ingenii sui ludos, quibus molestas iniurias, odiosaque tedia, infoelicissimi, ac adversi temporis, in quod (divino volente numine) communi calamitate, ac miseria, ob simultates obortas inter Hispaniarum Regem, Reginamque Angliae, inciderat. Discussit, animumque ab aegritudine, ac maerore, recreavit, levavitque. Dicat, donoque dat, Londini Anno a Christo nato millesimo quinientesimo sexagesimo nono Calendis Maii, Georgius Hoefnaghel, sui observantissimus'.

FIGURE 6.6 *Joris Hoefnagel, "The Best of All Patient People", part of his* Patientia *(1569).*
Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961).
Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

pronounced in the year 1569.[23] Hoefnagel thus opens the volume not only with an homage to his friend, but also with an assertion of just how strongly its verses and drawings belong to the present moment.

However, far more than merely elucidating the volume's genesis, Hoefnagel uses this opening folio as an opportunity to emphasize his own powers of invention, 'the noble and pure art' which he describes as a gift from God. Hoefnagel recounts in the sonnet how his spirit (*gheest*), long weighed down by physical suffering, suddenly awoke at Radermacher's invitation. Inspired, he set his mind to the act of making and found thereby a solace—even beyond Radermacher's friendship—in art itself. Not unlike the trajectory of Karel van Mander's biographical narrative, Hoefnagel portrays his artistic abilities as innate and divinely bestowed but also emphasizes that only through the trials of wartime—and his friend's urging—was his creative spirit fully brought to life.

Finally, Hoefnagel's repetition of the word *gheest* throughout the sonnet emphasizes that the drawings and poems in *Patience*—as much as they very clearly evoke the contemporary context of the Dutch Revolt—are not documentary in nature; they were created *uyt den gheest* ('from the spirit') rather than *naer het leven* ('from the life').[24] Hoefnagel even doubly emphasizes this point by describing his spirit as 'full of fantasy' (*fantasijen*), evoking the Renaissance conception of imagination as a place in the mind brimming with images culled from sensory experience, and which in turn propelled the generation of new thoughts and visual creations.[25] Hoefnagel implicitly construes the volume as an imaginative exploration of war's ramifications based upon the images and experiences assembled in his mind, but he is emphatic that the work does not present a direct record of specific observed events. This distinction is crucial to recognizing how *Patience* relates to other textual and visual responses to the reform movement and the war with Spain.

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23   On this rivalry, see Ramsay G. D., *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands: The End of the Antwerp Mart, Part II* (Manchester 1986) 153–173.

24   For the distinction, and complimentary relation, between these methods of creation, see Karel van Mander's canonical discussion in Miedema H. (ed.), *Den Grondt der edel vry Schilder-const*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973), I 98–107, and also Melion W. S., *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's* Schilder-Boeck (Chicago: 1991) 65–66.

25   A foundational source for the Renaissance conception of *fantasia* is Aristotle's *De Anima*, III 427b–428b. See also Swan C., *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: 2005) 14–22; Kanz R., *Die Kunst des Capriccio: Kreativer Eigensinn in Renaissance und Barock* (Munich: 2002) 62–69; Kemp M., "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts", *Viator* 8 (1977) 347–398; and Harvey E. R., *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: 1975) 31–53.

On the one hand, Hoefnagel's volume belongs to a larger contemporary genre of diasporic art and literature created by Netherlandish émigrés who capitalized on a freedom of expression unthinkable in the inquisitorial climate back home. A notable example, dating to the same year that Hoefnagel created *Patience*, is the treatise entitled *The Beehive of the Roman Catholic Church* written by the then exiled Calvinist scholar Philip Marnix.[26] Yet whereas Marnix's virulent satire issues a direct critique of Catholic vices and the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands, Hoefnagel's *Patience* is not overtly political. Hoefnagel's volume, by contrast, was the product of a personal exchange between friends, was never published, and was likely seen only by Radermacher and his close circle of fellow Netherlandish expatriates in England. As such, Hoefnagel's work emblematizes the present circumstances and the virtues needed to endure them for an audience of like minds. He does not aim to insert himself into the larger debate between the warring Catholic and Protestant factions. Indeed, nowhere in Hoefnagel's oeuvre does he expressly assert his own confessional stance.[27]

Hoefnagel's interpretation of patience as a theme, beginning with the volume's first drawing, also stands out from other visual personifications of the virtue produced in the sixteenth-century Netherlands within the context of the reform movement [Fig. 6.7].[28] Hoefnagel portrays Patience in a manner that belies her usual position as an unequivocal model of Christian behavior, for instance, as she appears—pious and calm amidst a sea of devilish creatures, Boschian encampments, and corrupted ecclesiastical figures—in a 1557 engraving designed by Pieter Bruegel the Elder [Fig. 6.8].[29] Hoefnagel's young female Patience, by contrast, sits bare-breasted and shackled on the ground as the aged dame Hope directs her prayers heavenward. Patience follows with her eyes, but she clenches her body in consternation: arms folded, brow furrowed,

26 Marnix P., *De bijenkorf der H. Roomsche Kerke, met inleiding en varianten*, eds. A. Lacroix – A. Willems, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1858). For background on Marnix's life and political activities, as well as a summary of past literature, see Duits H. – Strien T. van (eds.), *Een intellectuele activist. Studies over leven en werk van Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde* (Hilversum: 2001).

27 For a recent attempt to characterize Hoefnagel's religious beliefs, see Jacoby, "Salus generis humani" 102–125.

28 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 7; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 1. For a useful overview of sixteenth-century representations of patience, see Boon, "*Patientia* dans les gravures" 7–24; Vignau-Wilberg, "Patientia: Humanistsche Überlegungsstrategie" 137–161.

29 Orenstein N. (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etching, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel – Amsterdam: 2006) 48, no. 20, and Orenstein N., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Drawings and Prints* (New York: 2001) 161–162, no. 55.

FIGURE 6.7 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Patience", part of his* Patientia *(1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

FIGURE 6.8 *Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder,* Patientia *(1557). Engraving, 33.4 × 43 cm. London, British Museum (1851,1213.92). Image © British Museum.*

and knees pressed tightly together. Despite the inscription on her shackle box, her physical form projects the very opposite of the virtue she is meant to embody. Hoefnagel's agitated figure seems even more at odds with the message she voices through the poem below, that of patient faith in God alone:

> I am Patience personified.
> Hope consoles me in all my sufferings.
> Hope cheers me up in my sadness.
> She lifts my heart completely towards heaven.
> I sit here as an exemplum for both young and old,
> Rich and poor; therefore take note of me.
> And place your hope and consolation in the Lord;
> Blessed is the person who builds on Him alone.[30]

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30   'Patientia ben ick self in persoone, / Hope vertroest mij, in allen mijn lijden / Hope die doet mij, in droefheyt verblijden / Zij heft mijn hert, al naer t'shemels toone / Ick sitte ten toone, voer jonck en oock voer oudt, / Voer rijck end' arm, dus wilt op mij letten / En op den heere, u hope en troest setten / Salich den mensch, die op hem alleene boudt'. Translation adapted in part from Tanis, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt" 13.

If we take Hoefnagel at his word, then his visual representation of the virtue has to be understood to convey not the antithesis of Patience but rather the struggle required to achieve patience under duress, and the difficulty of keeping hope when all seems lost. In that sense, Patience's tense posture recalls the opening lines of Hoefnagel's poem to Radermacher describing his own struggle to lift his spirit beyond the hindrances of his fearful and anxious body. By projecting this kind of narrative onto an allegorical figure, Hoefnagel humanizes Patience; he treats her not as some otherworldly virtue but instead as yet another human victim of the present circumstances. Even she has to endure hardship in order to achieve spiritual consolation, and even she cannot do it alone. Just as Hoefnagel needed Radermacher's friendship, so too Patience relies on Hope at her side.

Equally significant is the rugged and uncannily anthropomorphic landscape that surrounds the two virtues in Hoefnagel's drawing, its forms congruent with the posture and movement of their entwined bodies. The sinuous tree behind Patience mirrors with its curving knotted trunk the clenching of her crossed arms. The tendril-like hills in the background landscape morph and flow like the folds of Patience's skirt, and the highest cliff in the background curves and gestures like Hope's upraised arm. Amidst this barren expanse of land, with only scant leaves on the tree above and patchy vegetation in the distance, a few weeds to either side of Patience's feet have fought their way out of the inhospitable soil and taken root. Through all these details, Hoefnagel suggests that the struggle for patience in adversity is not only a basic component of the human condition but also inherent within the cycle of nature itself.

In and Beyond the City Walls

Throughout the remaining twenty-three drawings in the volume, Hoefnagel's emblematic representations of patience alternate between the external world of nature and the internal world of the city. These two categories—the landscape and the urban vista—would have resonated for Hoefnagel and Radermacher with the actual lived environment of their hometown of Antwerp, a once-burgeoning mercantile center surrounded by productive farmland and gentrified suburbs.[31] Moreover, the popularity of the landscape genre on the

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31   For a useful overview, see Kavaler E. M., *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: 1999) 29–56. On Antwerp's suburbs, see Limberger M., *Sixteenth-century Antwerp and its Rural Surroundings. Social and Economic Changes in the Hinterland of a*

Antwerp art market was based in no small part on an interest in the boundary between urban and rural life, and Hoefnagel's drawings in *Patience* reveal his consciousness of this visual tradition.[32] Hoefnagel's description of his spirit as 'full of fantasy' when he created the *Patience* volume may signal his awareness of generating its drawings out of an imaginative gathering not only of images from lived experience but also from the works of fellow artists.

Several of Hoefnagel's urban scenes employ sharp perspectival recession and high horizon lines that dramatize the realm of the street [Fig. 6.9].[33] In this regard, they may recall the prints designed by Hans Vredeman de Vries— Antwerp's major exponent of perspectival city views—whose works Hoefnagel would have known [Fig. 6.10].[34] Vredeman's views present an idealized image of the streets of Antwerp itself, which had been newly planned during the first half of the sixteenth century to create long vistas evocative of classical beauty and ordered civilization.[35] Yet Hoefnagel disrupts the idealizing potential of this expansive urban stage by populating the space with human encounters that are anything but orderly or civilized. In his drawing of a family expelled from their home—their possessions thrown out in the street while a man in the background inventories their paltry worth—the recessional depth behind them only exaggerates their isolation. As the wife buries her head in her skirts and the husband looks imploringly out at the viewer, Hoefnagel's reference to patience here seems almost facetious.

Commercial Metropolis (*ca. 1450–ca. 1570*), Studies in European Urban History (1100–1800) 14 (Turnhout: 2008).

32 For the dialogue between rural and urban life in the art of sixteenth-century Antwerp, see Heuer C., *The City Rehearsed. Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London: 2009) 92–98, and Silver L., *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: 2006) 26–52.

33 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 17 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 21, no. 6.

34 From the series *Scenographiae, sive Perspectivae* first published in 1560, on which, see Nalis H. (comp.) with Fuhring P., *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Hans Vredeman de Vries*, ed. G. Luijten – C. Schuckman (Rotterdam: 1997) 52–57, esp. 53, no. 31. On the significance of this series, see Uppenkamp B., "The Influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries on the Cityscape Constructed like a Picture", in Lombaerde P. (ed.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries and the Artes Mechanicae Revisited* (Turnhout: 2005) 117–128.

35 Soly H., "L'urbanisation d'Anvers au XVIᵉ siècle", *Revue du Nord* 63 (1981) 391–413; Uppenkamp, "The Influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries" 121–123; and Heuer, *The City Rehearsed* 68–72.

FIGURE 6.9 *Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Expelled", part of his* Patientia (1569). *Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

FIGURE 6.10   *Hans Vredeman de Vries, "Perspective View of a Street", part of his*
          Scenographiae, sive Perspectivae. Etching, 21 × 25.9 cm. London, British Museum
          (1850,0612.67). Image © British Museum.

In another episode set within the city titled 'The Patient Merchant', the reces-
sion of the street and the dense surrounding buildings leave little escape for
the man being ransomed in the foreground [Fig. 6.3].[36] As he reaches for
his sword and looks warily at his antagonist, the merchant speaks through
Hoefnagel's verses for the plight of his entire community, to which both the
artist and Radermacher belonged:

> We merchants are in a bad way.
> We bring princes and countries to prosperity.
> Our trade brings prosperity everywhere.
> Now they come and confiscate our goods,
> Even ransom our persons.

36   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 11 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 3.

Through war, controversy, or such quarrels,
Have Patience, the Lord will reward us one day.
God gives, God takes, it is all the Lord's will.[37]

This resentment of war and its assault on commercial productivity sur-
faces more than once in Hoefnagel's volume. It is a lament that reverber-
ated throughout Antwerp in these years, not the least in the polemical songs
of the anti-Spanish rebels known as *geuzenlieden* ('beggar's songs'), which
were distributed as cheap pamphlets in the city streets and later published
and preserved in compendia volumes. The parallel between the message of
Hoefnagel's accosted merchant and one such song is particularly revealing:

Mourn with us loudly,
You people, large and small,
See how it is being lost:
Antwerp, the beloved city.
The merchants clamor;
They make such a great protest.
They would like to have trade again,
But it seems to me this will not be.

Where did one ever hear it said
There was so pleasant a city
Where commerce has utterly fallen
And is scorned completely.
Where every lover once triumphed,
To see his beloved pleased.
Commerce once flourished there,
But now we sit in grief.[38]

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37   'Wij cooplieden, sijnder zeer qualijcken aen / Wij doen princen, en landen floreren. / Ons
      tracteren, doe over al wel gaen. / Ons goedt men compt, nu hier confisqueren / Ransoneren,
      oock onse persoonen. / Doer orloghe, twist, often sulcken gheschille / Patientie, die heer
      die salt eens loonen / Godt gaf, Godt nam, tis al tsheeren wille'. Translation adapted from
      Tanis, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt" 18.

38   Kuiper E. T. – Leendertz P. (eds.), *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken*, 2 vols.
      (Zutphen: 1924) I 254–255, no. 111: 'Wilt met ons druck oorbooren / Ghy menschen
      cleyn ende groot, / Siet hoe dat nu gaet verlooren / Antwerpen die Stadt minioot, / Die
      Cooplieden kermen seere, / Sy maken also grooten gheclach / Die neeringhe hadden
      sy gheerne weere, / Maer my dunckt dat het niet wesen mach … Waer hoordemen oyt
      yemant spreken, / Dat een Stadt alsoo lustich stont, / Daer de Coopmanschap gheheel

The condition of forced immobility evoked in the beggar's song—of sitting in grief rather than engaging in industry—aligns with a recurrent motif in Hoefnagel's *Patience* volume as a whole. With the exception of the friendly dinner gathering in the last drawing, Hoefnagel never depicts his human figures engaged in positive or productive activity; often, even if they are not shackled like Patience herself, they seem stuck in place. The analogy in the beggar's song between the once flourishing city of Antwerp and a scorned lover even has a direct parallel in one of Hoefnagel's more mocking drawings in *Patience*. Hoefnagel depicts a paramour leaning on a stoop ornamented with sculpted devilish heads that ape his frustrated profile, while he stares—idle and despondent—down the street before him [Fig. 6.11].[39]

Turning to Hoefnagel's drawings of the landscape outside Antwerp's walls, we find the same emphasis on suspended activity, suggesting that the aftershocks of war and discord rippled far beyond the city streets. In these latter compositions, Hoefnagel was likely alluding to the art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the artist with whom—more than of any other contemporary—he nurtured a close kinship. Hoefnagel borrowed repeatedly from Bruegel's works throughout his own oeuvre and found in his predecessor's exploration of the natural world a foundation for his own art.[40] It is telling that Hoefnagel's close friend the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius declared Bruegel not merely the best of painters but Nature itself fully embodied. This high praise could only have fomented Hoefnagel's desire to emulate his great artistic precursor.[41]

In Hoefnagel's drawing of "Patience in Adversity", a man narrowly escapes shipwreck and flees to shore against turbulent waves and pelting rain [Fig. 6.2].[42] Hoefnagel boldly depicts the storm with quick choppy lines shooting down

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is ghesweken / En veracht tot inden gront, / Daer elck Minnaer triumpheerde, / Om sijn lief te behaghen siet, / De Coopmanschap die daer floreerde, / Maer nu sitten wy int verdriet'. Kuiper suggests that this beggar's song was probably written around 1575 or 1576 [,] just before the Spanish Fury; in any case, it was created in close temporal proximity to Hoefnagel's volume.

39   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 29 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 22, no. 12.

40   See Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* 173–182; Serebrennikov N. E., "Imitating Nature / Imitating Bruegel", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 222–246; and Ilsink M., *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch. Kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)* (Nijmegen: 2009) 148–154, 166.

41   Ortelius, *Album Amicorum* 21–22: 'Congruit nostro Brugelio hoc, cuius picturas ego minime artificiosas, at naturales appellare soleam, neque eum optimum pictorum at naturam pictorum vero dixerim'.

42   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 25; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 22, no. 10.

FIGURE 6.11 *Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Lover", part of his* Patientia *(1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

FIGURE 6.12   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder,* Storm (*ca. 1559*). *Pen on paper, 20.2 × 29.9 cm.*
                London, Courtauld Institute of Art (*Seilern Coll. Nr. 11*). *Image © Courtauld*
                Institute.

from the top of the folio. The man's clasped hands and upturned eyes sug-
gest that he has put his faith in God, in counterpoint to the drowning figure
in the background whose flailing arms betray his imminent fate. Hoefnagel's
churning waves and violent rain recall Bruegel's drawing of the seas just off
Antwerp's harbor, in which the small island with empty gallows and torture
wheel casts a decidedly ominous mood over the scene [Fig. 6.12].[43] The danger
of shipwreck—both actual and metaphorical—is everywhere implied, even if
not depicted.[44] By comparison, Hoefnagel's composition is even more explicit
in its message. In the context of the other drawings and poems within the
Patience volume, Hoefnagel's shipwreck becomes charged with contemporary
significance; it is the ultimate image of halted movement, in which neither the

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43   Mielke H., *Pieter Bruegel: Die Zeichnungen* (Turnhout: 1996) 61, no. 52. On Bruegel's
      representations of storms at sea, see also Goedde L., *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and*
      Flemish Art. Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation (University Park: 1989) 64–76.

44   Many attempts have been made to uncover political commentary in Bruegel's works. For
      a reasoned approach to this issue in Bruegel's depictions of the natural world, see Kavaler,
      Parables of Order and Enterprise 212–254.

vessel's passengers nor its commercial goods reach the shore, save one desperate and isolated survivor.

It is certain that Hoefnagel had access to some of Bruegel's drawings and, as such, it is not implausible that he would have known Bruegel's seascape. Around 1595, Hoefnagel adapted and published two of Bruegel's landscape compositions as prints, together with two shipwreck scenes after designs by Cornelis Cort.[45] Hoefnagel also collected and dealt in drawings by other artists, particularly in those by early Netherlandish masters, as he discusses in a letter to Ortelius.[46] An inscription on Hoefnagel's drawing of Messina for Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* even cites as a model certain 'autograph studies' by Bruegel that were in his possession.[47]

Another drawing titled "The Patient Masses" may also reflect Hoefnagel's dialogue with Bruegel's art [Fig. 6.4].[48] Hoefnagel depicts one shepherd raising his hands in prayer while the other sits in doleful contemplation, his oversized sheep shears discarded at his feet and jutting out over the space of the frame. Through the verses below, the two men lament how the poor masses suffer when princes desire to go to war, complaining that 'they prefer to whip the

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45   Sellink M., *Cornelis Cort. Constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Holland / Accomplished Plate-Cutter from Hoorn in Holland* (Rotterdam: 1994) 137–146, nos. 49–52. See also Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck* 146–147, and Serebrennikov, "Imitating Nature" 227–228. Hoefnagel added narrative content to Bruegel's landscapes, transforming one into a *Landscape with Mercury Abducting Helen*, and the other into a *Landscape with the Fall of Icarus*. To Cort's design for a *Shipwreck*, he also added a female figure fleeing to shore, very much like the man in his *Patience* drawing. Hoefnagel's son Jacob also employed his father's composition from *Patience* as a model for his 1599 drawing *Allegory of Humanist Virtue*, for which see Gerszi T., *The New Ideal of Beauty in the Age of Pieter Bruegel. Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest* (Budapest: 2012) 158–159, no. 63.

46   On Hoefnagel as a collector and dealer of drawings, see Vignau-Wilberg T., " 'Qualche diseigni d'importancia'. Joris Hoefnagel als Zeichnungssammler", *Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 38 (1987) 185–214. For Hoefnagel's letter to Ortelius, see Ortelius, *Epistulae* 566–567, no. 239 (Frankfurt, Thursday, 20 September 1593), and Popham A. E., "On a Letter of Joris Hoefnagel", *Oud Holland* (1936) 145–151.

47   Braun – Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* VI 58; Popham, "George Hoefnagel" 200: 'Repertum inter studia autographa Petri Bruegelii Pictoris nostri seculi eximii. Ab ipsomet delineatum. Communicavit Georgius Hoefnaglius, Anno 1617'. The date makes this inscription somewhat problematic as Hoefnagel actually died in 1600, though as Popham suggests, it may just have been a mistake on the part of the engraver.

48   Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 13; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 4.

FIGURE 6.13   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Summer (*1568*). *Pen on paper, 22 × 28.6 cm. Hamburg,
                Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett (21758). Image © Kunsthalle Hamburg.*

world in a frenzy' than to care for their subjects.[49] Here Hoefnagel's compo-
sition bears a striking relation to Bruegel's 1568 drawing of *Summer* showing
peasants working and taking refreshment under the hot sun [Fig. 6.13].[50] In
particular, Hoefnagel's seated shepherd with outstretched leg and discarded
shears parallels Bruegel's peasant who has laid down his scythe to quench his
thirst. Yet Hoefnagel's drawing is self-conscious and subversive of its Bruegelian
model. His shepherds are not resting from toil but seem to have abandoned
their livelihood completely, a suspension of labor analogous to that experi-
enced by Hoefnagel's city merchant. At the same time, the absurd heft of the
shepherd's shears not only renders labor an impossibility; it also signals the
object as out of place, and by extension, as an allusion to be discovered by the
discerning viewer.

49   'Wat moet die arme, ghemeijnte toch lijden. / Alst die Princen, lust orloghe te voeren /
      Malcanderen zij, nijet en willen mijden / Liever die weerelt, brenght sij setten in roeren'.

50   Mielke, *Die Zeichnungen* 69, no. 67. The engraving of *Summer* was published only in 1570,
      but Hoefnagel could have seen the drawing before leaving Antwerp for England.

Hoefnagel's *Patience* volume operates in a realm of productive ambiguity befitting its emblematic origins and learned audience. Often the verses that give voice to his protagonists, declaring how God will reward their patience, are at odds with the dire conditions in which Hoefnagel represents them. In some cases, like his scorned lover sighing on a stoop, Hoefnagel must have intended his figures as ironic prototypes that would amuse and engage the viewer's critical eye.

These interpretive challenges are reinforced by the somatic experience of the volume itself. The strange corporeality of the figures who inhabit its folios—almost all of them in tense, twisted, and unstable poses—refract their unease back onto the viewer. For Radermacher and his close friends, turning the pages of *Patience* was an invitation into a realm of intimate knowledge but also one of shared struggle and harsh experience in which encounters in the city street or the surrounding landscape raised questions about the very nature of humanity. However, it would be wrong to interpret *Patience* overall as skeptical about the virtue that it explores, even if the artist shows little evidence of its positive effect in the human encounters he portrays. Not only does the scene of gathered friends at the close of the volume visualize Hoefnagel's gratitude for Radermacher's assistance in guiding him towards patience, but on the title-page of the work, Hoefnagel frames the entire project in a manner that reveals his own physical creative act as an epitome of that same virtue.

The Good Herb Patience

Together with his dedicatory sonnet to Radermacher on the second folio, the title-page of *Patience* was probably the last component of the volume that Hoefnagel completed [Fig. 6.14].[51] In the final stanza of his dedication, Hoefnagel describes the work as already finished; the change of drawing medium from red chalk to ink and wash also seems to set the title-page apart. The inscriptions on the title-page are, at one level, a classic defense of art in the face of critics. At the bottom of the page, just above the date 1569, Hoefnagel cites the Latin phrase *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ('Let the cobbler stick to his last'), words famously spoken by Apelles when a humble cobbler deigned to critique the artist's representation of a shoe.[52] The message conveyed is that those ignorant of art should not presume to understand it, let alone meddle in

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51 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 3 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 8.

52 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXXV 85, in Henderson J. (ed.), *Pliny, Natural History*, trans. H. Rackam, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1952) IX 322–325. See also Erasmus Desiderius,
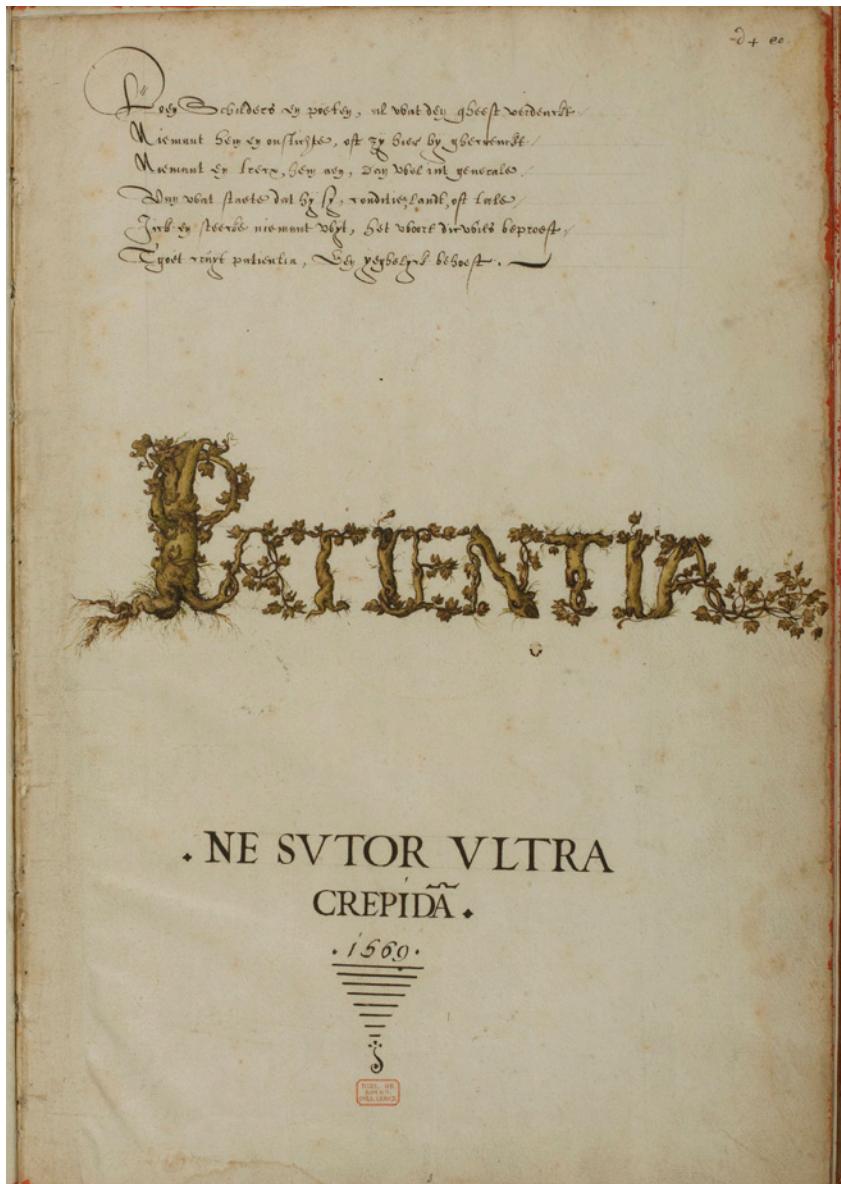
FIGURE 6.14   *Joris Hoefnagel, title-page of* Patientia *(1569). Ink and wash on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.*

an artist's creative process. Hoefnagel's verses at the top of the title-page open on an equally defensive note:

> When painters and poets do whatever the spirit devises.
> Nobody should feel offended or bothered by what they do.
> Nobody should pay them mind, except in a general way,
> Whatever his class, his condition, country, or tongue.
> And I exclude no one from the word so often tried:
> That good herb patience is needed by everyone.[53]

This assertion that painters and poets should be left alone to pursue 'whatever the spirit devises' echoes not only Hoefnagel's emphasis on *den gheest* in his dedicatory sonnet to Radermacher but also a famous defense of art by the ancient poet Horace.[54] It is hard to imagine that Hoefnagel meant this reference merely to evoke a classical trope. Given the iconoclasm that the artist had just witnessed back in Antwerp, to defend art against ignorant critics was as natural a response as it was necessary. The immediacy and honest expression of the poems and drawings in the *Patience* volume were an antidote to oppressive circumstances.

It is along these lines that the poem's final two verses prove the most revealing. In referring to the virtue of patience as a 'good herb', Hoefnagel plays on the word's secondary association with the plant, *Rumex patientia*, known in Dutch as *Patientie*, which was used as a healing agent in sixteenth-century Europe. In the contemporary herbals of Leonhart Fuchs and Rembert Dodoens, *Rumex* is said to cure everything from scorpion bites to a toothache, but above all, various ailments of the stomach.[55] The verb *proeven* that Hoefnagel employs in the penultimate line can mean 'to try' but also 'to taste' or 'to savor' and implies as such that patience is a virtue which one strives to achieve, yet also

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Adagia I, vi, 16, in Mynors R. A. B. (ed.–trans.), *Collected Works of Erasmus. Vol. 32: Adages* (Toronto: 1989) 14.

53   'Doen Schilders en poëten, al wat den gheest verdenckt, / Niemant hem en ontstichte, oft zij hier bij ghecranckt. / Niemant en trecx hem aen, dan wel int generale / Van wat staete dat hij sij, conditie, landt, oft tale / Ick en steecke niemant wijt, het woort dicwils beproeft. / T'goet cruyt patientia, Een ijegelijck behoeft'.

54   As Horace writes in his *Ars Poetica* (lines 9–10): 'Pictoribus atque poetis quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas'. For Hoefnagel's paraphrase of Horace in a poem on Albrecht Dürer's portrait of Philip Melanchthon, see Kaufmann, "The Nature of Imitation" 172–173, and Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature*, 95–96.

55   Fuchs Leonhart, *Neu Kreüterbuch* (Basel, Michael Isengrin: 1543) N5 recto-O2 recto, Cap. CLXXV ('Von allerlen Mengelwurtz'), and Dodoens Rembert, *Cruijdeboeck* (Antwerp, Jan van der Loo: 1554) 594–597, Cap. IX ('Van Lapathum').

a substance which one physically ingests and applies to the body.[56] The plant itself is depicted on the right side of a page from Dodoens's herbal with thick roots, a cluster of low leaves, and stalks of inconspicuous yellow flowers [Fig. 6.15].[57] It is tempting to speculate that it was this herb the artist intended to evoke with the persistent crop of weeds situated at Patience's feet in the volume's first drawing.

Regardless, Hoefnagel surely meant to trope on the double meaning of patience as virtue and natural remedy in his representation of the volume's title [Fig. 6.16]. In a muted palette of brown and greenish tones, the word patience comes alive in knotted twisting branches, whispery roots, and sprouting leaves. Even though uprooted from the earth, in analogy to Hoefnagel and Radermacher uprooted from their home, Patience continues to grow and rejuvenate. In nature's enduring struggle, divine salvation and God's creative power are most fully in evidence.[58]

At the same time, the intricate skill with which Hoefnagel enlivens the letters of the title-page, with minimal color yet the softest modeling and finest lines, shows that he—in difference to so many figures depicted within the volume—has not laid aside his tools. Hoefnagel does not wallow in grief, but as he tells Radermacher, has set his spirit to work, and the product of his patient labor here unfolds most beautifully, both in word and image. The choice of ink and wash as the medium for representing the letters of the volume's titular virtue emphasizes, even more than red chalk, the patience and meticulous care that the work required.[59] By representing the word 'Patience' as an organic

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56   I am grateful to Bret Rothstein for provoking me to consider this double meaning of *proeven* in Hoefnagel's poem.

57   Dodoens, *Cruijdeboeck* 594.

58   The final folio also includes a verse refrain that emphasizes faith in God alone, which certainly would have aligned with Radermacher's Calvinist belief. Hoefnagel, *Patientia*, fol. 55–55v; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9–10.

59   The notion that patience was a virtue of artists also appears a few years earlier in Lucas de Heere's famous 1565 "Ode to the *Ghent Altarpiece*", where he employs the word *patientie* to describe Jan van Eyck's diligence in his process of creation. See Heere L. de, *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësien*, ed. W. Waterschoot (Zwolle: 1969) 29–32, esp. 30: 'Sijn scherpicheit maect ons zijn patientie vroet, / En zij memorie groot blijckt in tselfde claerlic / Alzoo oock zinen grooten gheest boven al doet, / In d'inventie, ende ordinancien openbaerlic'. See also Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* 139–142. Lucas de Heere was prominent among the Netherlandish expatriates in England and a friend of Hoefnagel, as a drawing De Heere gifted to Hoefnagel in August 1576 attests (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1911-83). I am currently preparing an article titled "Joris Hoefnagel and the Art of Friendship" on the relationship between these two artists.

FIGURE 6.15   *Arnout Nicolaï after Pieter van der Borcht, woodcut illustration to*
           Rembert Dodoens's Cruijdeboeck (*Antwerp, Jan van der Loo: 1554*) 594.
           Detail, Patientie plant. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (RP-T-1948-118).
           Image © Rijksmuseum.

FIGURE 6.16   *Joris Hoefnagel, title-page of* Patientia (1569). *Ink and wash on paper,*
           29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Detail, letters of
           the title. Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

thing that grows over time, Hoefnagel bodies forth his patient execution of the volume in yet another living figure.

Hoefnagel conveys on the title-page the overarching lesson of the volume as a whole: guided by nature and friendship, patience does provide its full salutary effect, both in life and in art. In the years to follow, when Hoefnagel would trade his merchant career for that of a full-time artist, he would embrace the representation of the natural world to the delight of his eminent courtly patrons. Yet *Patience* tells us that Hoefnagel was first drawn to nature out of grief and fear over the war that gripped his native land, and that it was in nature where he found the truest analogy for the friendship and struggle that lifted his spirit to the act of creation.

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The *Album Amicorum* and the Kaleidoscope of the Self: Notes on the Friendship Book of Jacob Heyblocq

Aneta Georgievska-Shine

The analogy between a book and one's consciousness has a distinguished pedigree in the Western literary canon. Its origins can be traced to Plato's comparison of the mind to a wax tablet stamped with images of our experience, as well as Aristotle's observation that images inscribed onto our mind by our memory are similar to panels painted with figures that are, at once, both copies and reminders of real phenomena.[1] Both Cicero and Seneca envision the mind as a scroll whose contents can become forgotten or confused if it is not periodically unfolded (*explicandus*).[2] In using this metaphor, they are underscoring the idea that as a repository of experience, the mind/book fulfills its true purpose in the act of recollection. And in a slightly different version of this *topos*, the anonymous author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* likens memory places (*loci*) to wax tablets, while the images (*imagines*) found within them to letters impressed upon these tablets. The arrangement of the memory images becomes analogous to script, while their delivery to the act of reading.[3]

These metaphors become ubiquitous in memory treatises of the early modern period, from Giulio Camillo's *L'idea del teatro* (Florence, 1550), to the *Ars reminiscendi* of Giambattista della Porta (Naples, 1602), where imagination is envisioned as an artist who creates images within our minds, just as a pencil might inscribe signs upon a sheet of paper.[4] Images that are inscribed can also

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2   Jager E., *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: 2000) 9.

3   Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3:17), as discussed by Jager, *The Book of the Heart* 8.

4   For this, see the seminal study by Yates F. A., *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: 1966; reprint ed., New York: 2011) 203.

be expunged, giving the mind/book the quality of a palimpsest, as Shakespeare reminds us through Hamlet's vow to erase 'all trivial records' from the 'table' of his memory, so that only the words of his father can remain 'within the book and volume' of his mind, 'unmixed with baser matter'.[5]

The book of the self, in other words, is as fluid in its composition as one's changing thoughts, as the Florentine literato Antonfrancesco Doni also recognizes in his treatise dedicated to the 'laughable world', when he compares the shifting nature of our consciousness to the letters of a movable print:

> The letters of the alphabet are a mill that turns around in every book, and we turn our lives along with them. . . . Is there anything in this world that is not made, remade, turned, turned again, spun about and re-spun over and over?[6]

The visual culture of early modern Europe is just as rich with allusions to this idea, from the countless portraits in which an erudite man holds a small volume close to his heart, sometimes prying it gently open to suggest that there is more to the image than meets the eye, to Arcimboldo's grotesque *Librarian* composed out of a mismatched pile of books. It was no doubt for these reasons that the frontispiece to the 1630 English edition of Montaigne's *Essays* showed an entrance into an inner courtyard of a memory palace in a direct echo of the author's famous statement that he is the ultimate subject of his book.[7]

One of the most eloquent visual comments on this analogy is found in a painting from the Metropolitan Museum of Art attributed to the Master of the View of Sainte-Gudule [Fig. 7.1].[8] In this intimately scaled composition dated to about 1480, we see a young man in meditation holding an open heart-shaped book of prayers. Though he gazes beyond the picture frame, the trajectory of

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5   Shakespeare, *Hamlet* I, 5, 837–842.

6   From the 1552 *Mondo Risibile* of Antonfrancesco Doni, cited by Bolzoni L., *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* (Toronto: 2001) 275, no. 56. On Doni's interest in publishing, with particular emphasis on his forays into emblematic imagery, see Thompson W., "Antonfrancesco Doni's 'Medaglie'", *Print Quarterly* 24, 3 (2007) 223–238.

7   On Montaigne and his book of essays as a virtual memory theatre, see Engel W., *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Amherst: 1995) 103–4.

8   Master of the View of Sainte-Gudule, *Young Man Holding a Book*, ca. 1480, oil on wood, 50.145.27. Another, very similar painting on the subject, possibly painted by the same artist, is at the National Gallery in London. For a discussion of both works, see Bauman G., "Early Flemish Portraits, 1425–1525", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 43 (1986) 40–41.

FIGURE 7.1 *Master of the View of Sainte Gudule,* Young Man Holding a Book (*ca. 1480*). *Oil on wood, 21 × 13 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

his mental journey can be gleaned from the interior of the Brussels church of Sainte-Gudule in the background, where a priest raises the host while a supplicant (the alter-ego of our meditant) kneels behind him. A portrait and a devotional image in one, this meta-painting speaks of the transformative power of texts and images, from the words on the page to the vision they create, embodied in the mystery of the Eucharist: as the scriptural words he reads become his own through the process of meditation, the book he holds becomes the equivalent of his own *tabula cordis*.[9]

The subject of this essay is the manner in which this bond between the mind and the characters on page, to recall Shakespeare again, is expressed in another, seemingly very different kind of early modern book—the *album amicorum*. Popular in university settings throughout early modern Europe, this literary genre had a particular appeal among German-speaking students and scholars. Though many *alba amicorum* were created to commemorate their owner's study years in a particular university, or his extended stay in a locale far away from his principal place of residence, many other examples of this genre were composed over periods that could span several decades, and not infrequently in a number of different cities or countries visited by their owners. Commenting on the unique role of these personal books in one's self-fashioning, Anthony Grafton observes that as humanists moved from place to place 'seeking out fellow Republicans in their local habitats' and inscribed their albums with words, images, and other emblems of fellowship, they created 'deposits in a bank of social and cultural capital that served them throughout their lives'.[10] As for the value of these 'deposits', one might turn to the words of the Protestant reformer Philip Melanchthon, who leaves one of the longest period comments on the manifold purposes of these friendship books:

> These little books . . . above all . . . remind the owners of people, and at the same time bring to mind the wise teaching which has been inscribed in them, and they serve as a reminder to the younger students to be industrious in order that the professor may inscribe some kind and commendatory words on parting so that they may always prove themselves brave

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9   On the use of the term *tabula cordis* among early Christian church fathers, specifically Ambrose, see Jager, *The Book of the Heart* 24. Among the numerous Biblical places where the words of God are envisioned as something that becomes inscribed upon one's own heart, one of the most memorable is in Psalm 40, 7–8: 'In the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God: thy Law is written within my heart'. On this process, as exemplified by the words of Bunyan concerning Luther's commentary on the Bible, see Erickson R. A., *The Language of the Heart*, 1600–1750 (Philadelphia: 1997) 16.

10   Grafton A., *Worlds Made by Words* (Cambridge, MA: 2009) 18.

and virtuous during the remainder of their lives, inspired, even if only through the names of good men, to follow their example. At the same time the inscription itself teaches knowledge of the character of the contributor, and quite often significant passages from otherwise and unknown and little-read authors are found in albums. Finally, they record biographical details which would otherwise be forgotten.[11]

Melanchthon's emphasis on the mnemonic function of these 'small volumes' is significant in several respects. Most importantly, it underscores that these books are reminders not just of important ideas, but of real living beings that the owner has encountered and befriended in the course of his life. Though he also speaks of the pedagogical utility of *alba amicorum* in much the same way as one might praise the role of commonplace books in humanist education, he clearly recognizes that these books are not mere collections of *sententiae* and *bon-mots* intended to demonstrate the writer's erudition.[12] Rather, the meaning of these messages is inseparable from the actual people that inscribed them. In other words, an *album amicorum* is a collection not so much of memorable words and phrases culled from the canon, but of individuals who insert those words and phrases as mementoes of their relationship with the owner, as well as one another. These marks of friendship may range from a mere signature with a date, to an original poem; from a decorative coat of arms painted by an artisan commissioned specifically for that purpose, to a quick sketch in the hand of the contributor himself. What matters is the recognition that they stand for an individual subjectivity.

   In the following pages, I explore some of these modes of self-inscription in one of the most remarkable *friendship books* created in seventeenth century Holland, the *album amicorum* of Jacob Heyblocq (1623–1690).[13] A writer and educator, Heyblocq studied in Leiden before settling in Amsterdam where he became best known during his tenure as the master of the Grammar School on the Nieuwe Zijde (1670–1685). The album itself is part of the collection of the Royal Library at the Hague. However, a facsimile reprint of 1998, accompanied by a separate volume with transcriptions of all of the notations, a paraphrase

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11   I am reproducing the words of Melanchthon in the translation provided by Schlueter J., *The Album Amicorum & the London of Shakespeare's Time* (London: 2011) 8.

12   For the way in which commonplace books served to establish a 'mental community' among scholars, see Moss A., *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, (Oxford: 1996) viii.

13   All of the biographical information reproduced here comes from *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq: Introduction, Transcriptions, Paraphrases & Notes to the Facsimile*, ed. K. Thomasen – J. A. Gruys (Zwolle: 1998).

translation, as well as critical commentary, goes a long way in evoking the beauty and complexity of this record of human interactions spanning more than thirty years.[14]

The first inscriptions go back to 1645, the period of Heyblocq's studies in Leiden. By the time of the last entry in 1678, he had collected contributions from one hundred fifty-five people, some of who wrote several times at different points of their lives.[15] The self-portraits that these contributors sketched through their words and images comprise a truly remarkable gallery for, unlike the majority of *alba amicorum* associated with school settings, Heyblocq did not aim to record merely his friendship with fellow students or professors. His goal was far more ambitious, to assemble a collection of inscriptions by the most remarkable people he crossed path with throughout his adulthood, as reflected both in the names one encounters within the pages of this album and its sheer temporal compass.

'Write brilliant inscriptions', he appeals to the 'reverend, noble, most learned, and illustrious gentlemen' who will be kind enough to contribute to his album, calling them 'dazzling lights' of his century.[16] And so they did, obliging him with words inscribed in a variety of languages, modes and scripts, as well as images, ranging from abstract emblematic structures to remarkably realistic sketches *ad vivum*: from the Leiden professor Heinsius to the Utrecht men of letters Daniel and Paul Voet; from Amsterdam's Vossius to Jan Amos Commenius, to name but a few. Among the poets, we find Huygens and Cats, Vondel and Revius, as well as the celebrated Anna Maria van Schurman, one of the very few female writers admitted into this distinguished company.[17] Nor are the visual artists who made contributions lacking in renown. Suffice it to mention the names of Rembrandt, Flinck, and Aert van der Neer, who contributed original drawings as tokens of their friendship, in addition to others, less known or still unidentified peers, who chose images as vehicles for their sentiments. Like in many other *alba amicorum* created during this period, the composite mirror they created through their inscriptions was intended to reflect

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14   Ibidem. The facsimile volume mimics the original so faithfully in format and color that one feels is if holding the real thing: from the embossed book cover, to the faintest of traces of various marks on its pages, whether an erasure, or another sign of damage or loss, such as a missing image or a torn page. My references to individual entries shall be to the page numbers in the accompanying volume, rather than the facsimile itself, whose leaves are numbered by hand.

15   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 11–13.

16   'Anno 1645. / Reverendis, nobilibus, doctissimus, clarissimisque d.d […] radiantia saecli'. Ibidem 42.

17   For a discussion of these and other notable contributors, see Ibidem 24–30.

both each of them as an individual and a larger humanist ideal of friendship as a community of equals whose own boundaries transcend those of language, ideology, space and even time itself.

Friendship and Its Emblems

The importance of friendship in the humanist culture is memorably invoked in another famous *album amicorum* of this period: 'Learning is the daughter of Labor, Culture of Learning, Friendship of Culture. Remove Friendship and there is no more charm to life'.[18] The words in this instance may be dedicated to Otto van Veen, the owner of the album, but they are intended for every reader/friend who will leave his inscription within it and thus become part of its ritual of sociability and mutual mirroring.[19]

The long history of this discourse, from Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* to the works of Erasmus and Montaigne, in which the true friend is seen as a second self, gives the early modern *album amicorum* the imprimatur as a vehicle for establishing and reaffirming that spiritual bond between two like-minded individuals. This function, in turn, allows one to compare the *alba amicorum* to the epistolary genre so cherished among humanists as a way of maintaining their fellowship: the familiar letter. As Justus Lipsius would emphasize in his manual on letter-writing, an epistle sent from one friend to another is 'a message of the mind (*animi nuntium*) spoken to someone who is absent or regarded as absent' and whose varied content is intended to cover 'no less ground than life itself'.[20]

The same meaning is conveyed through Heyblocq's invitation to prospective contributors on the first page of his album. Rather than introducing himself through a self-portrait, he chooses a set of lines, encircled by a delicate laurel wreath, which declare him 'unworthy' of his friends' favors and explain

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18   'Eruditio Laboris filia, Eruditionis Humanitas, Humanitatis Amicitia, qui sablata, nihil in vita iucundum', in Van der Gheyn J., *Album Amicorum de Otto Venius* (Brussels: 1911) 57, as translated and reproduced by Bomford K., *The Visual Representation of Friendship Amongst Humanists in Southern Netherlands* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London: 2000) 123–4.

19   Van der Gheyn, *Album Amicorum de Otto Venius* 123–4. On Cicero's notion of the friend as a mirror of oneself (*De Amicitia*, 131), see also Classen A. – Sandidge M. (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era*: *Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin – New York: 2010) 10.

20   Lipsius J., *Principles of Letter-Writing, a Bilingual text of Iusti Lipsii Epistolica*, trans. R. V. Young – M. T. Hester (Summertown: 1996) xxii–xxiii.

that his duties will allow him only to contemplate what they decide to write within the pages of his book. As he significantly adds, those inscriptions will secure their own immortality: 'If a writer (*scriptor*) is later no more (*non erit*)', he says, 'at least what he has written (*scriptura*) will remain (*manebit*)' after his death.[21] By framing his address in a manner that calls to mind vignettes from frontispieces of printed books with authors' portraits, Heyblocq draws a clear analogy between words and other modes of memorializing a person: these laureate lines are no less capable of ensuring immortality than a portrait carved in stone or cast in medal. The *album amicorum*, in other words, becomes akin to a friendship portrait in terms of its capacity to create a locus of permanent cohabitation, even when friends can no longer be with one another.[22] As if writing directly in response to this idea, the Leiden clergyman Andreas Winckelius makes the following dedication to Heyblocq on July 18, 1645:

> We have cemented our friendship with our right hands because that is how we have written our contributions to one another's albums. The bond of friendship will endure as long as these two leaves bind our hands (*dum jungi dextras* […] *charta manus*).[23]

And in a related inscription, another Leiden clergyman, Arnoldus Montanus, offers his words to Heyblocq as a material evidence of their friendship. This bond shall last, he adds, even when he is crossing the Alps in Italy, or even after the 'hand that wrote this is no more'.[24]

In line with the tradition of *ars memorativa*, this material evidence comprises both images and words. This interlay of signs invites the mention of another genre of publications important for the structuring of meaning in *alba amicorum*: the emblem book. While the similarity between the two may

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21 '…si postea scriptor/ Non erit, exstincti saltem scriptura manebit'. *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 42. In many emblem books of the period, texts (*scriptura*) are perceived as being more durable than any other monument. See for instance Boissard Jean Jacques, *Emblemes latins* (Metz, Jean Aubry – Abraham Faber: 1588), *La Vie de Memoire* 40–41, with the motto 'Vive ut Vivas' and an image of an open book on a pedestal with a quill in its middle, that continues to write against a backdrop of a small obelisk and a crumbling ancient wall of arches.

22 On this, see Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship* 36, with reference to another Dutch *album amicorum* of 1600, in which this indelible bond between friends is explained by recourse to classical authors such as Diogenes Laertius and Thales. On the power of words *vis a vis* images, see Dante, *Inferno*, Canto 15.

23 *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 49.

24 Ibidem 45.

be most clear in friendship books created by interleaving existing emblem books with blank pages, it is just as important for the genre as a whole given its overarching premise that verbal and visual signs are interdependent indices of character.[25]

Analogously to the way in which a motto (*lemma*) and inscription (*subscriptio*) of an emblem complement the picture (*imago*) in representing the body and the soul of an idea, the texts and images in *alba amicorum* attempt a similar transcendence between the *res significans* and the *significatio* of the individual elements.[26] This process of signification is never all that simple, especially in view of the growing sensitivity among humanists about the conventional nature of signs, visual or verbal alike.[27]

Among the numerous examples of words and images in Heyblocq's album which seem to be informed by emblem theory, the dedication of the Amsterdam poet Henrick Bruno dated to 1657 has a singular distinction for the way in which it transcends the very conventions of the genre it emulates.

Admittedly, Bruno begins with a rather predictable address to his friend, whom he asks to accept his heart—offered in his hand—as a sign of his friendship. Though rather clichéd, this metaphor doesn't fail to remind the reader that the heart carried by the hand is embodied in the lines it leaves across

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25   For a perceptive discussion of the interdependence of words and images in emblem books, see Visser A. S. Q., *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: the Use of the Emblem in Late Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden – Boston: 2005) 88–89. In numerous emblem books of the period, images are actually perceived as having a greater power than words. Thus in emblem 24 of Otto Van Veen's famous *Amorum emblemata* (1608), cupid holds a picture of a heart pierced with arrows before a forlorn woman who looks at it as if it were a portrait of her missing lover. The motto, drawn from Seneca, declares that the things that can be experienced by senses should be shown, rather than spoken of, while the Latin quatrain below explains that visual evidence is always stronger than words, and that the lover gazing at the image held before her eyes is discovering within it her own transfixed heart. On this, see Melion W. S., "Venus/Venius: On the Artistic Identity of Otto Vaenius and his Doctrine of the Image", in S. McKeown (ed.), *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books* (Glasgow: 2012) 24–5.

26   For the *res significans* and the *signification*, as used by Paolo Giovio in his theory of the *impresa*, see Daly P., *Emblem Theory: Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* (Nendeln: 1979) 31.

27   On this gradual move in the early modern period away from the medieval, realist perspective on language, see Russell D., *Emblematic Structures in French Renaissance Culture* (Toronto: 1995) For a somewhat different perspective, see Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image* 222–3.

the page of the album.[28] The same can be said of the next line, which invokes another familiar trope: that if the flame of his love could burn paper, it would consume the entire album.[29]

But then comes a note of surprise when the poet asks Heyblocq to 'Turn the page and sing'.[30] A rather cryptic phrase, one might add, and it does not become any clearer even after reading further, where Bruno deploys another familiar analogy—between the soul of the lover and the chameleon who changes color to suit that of his beloved. What helps us get closer to the meaning of Bruno's invitation to his friend to join in his song, however, is the image on the recto: a nearly abstract, empty black rectangle, framed by a decorative cartouche of yellow, whose foliated edges call to mind the poet's earlier words about the flames of his passion that could consume the entire album [Fig. 7.2].

While this drawing is neither signed, nor attributed to Bruno at present, it creates a rather apt counterpart to the playful quality of his verbal address. As he tells his friend, the black ink that he uses to write with—but also to paint this image without image—symbolizes the sincerity (*candidum*) of his affection (*affectum*). The very fact that this pure love is black demonstrates its intensity, embodied in the transformation of the album (*album* = white) of his most sincere friend (*candidissime*) Heyblocq into 'black in an unnatural way'.[31]

Bruno's use of the words *albus* and *candidus* to describe his affection for Heyblocq is just as indebted to conventions such as those of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, where *Amicitia* is described as a woman in simple white dress, which signifies the humble candor of a friend's soul, free of all pretense and artifice.[32] The charm of his invention comes from the manner in which he transposes these conventional qualifiers into a visual image, where the black rectangle becomes their antithetical counterpart, but also the paradoxical

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28   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 94–95. On the blank parchment as the ground on which the poet inscribes his heart, see Fumerton P., " 'Secret Arts': Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets", in Greenblatt S. (ed.), *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1988) 120–121.

29   Ibidem 95. Bruno's comparison of his friendship to a passion between ardent lovers finds numerous parallels in the literature on friendship. Thus, when Lipsius meets one of his future colleagues at Leiden, Janus I Dousa, he speaks of his emotions just as a lover might concerning his beloved: 'I saw you Dousa, at Louvain, and as I saw you . . . I caught fire. For who would not, in the presence of such truthfulness, in a snowy breast, and such easy elegance of manner?' as reproduced by Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship* 35.

30   'Verte folium et canta', *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 94.

31   Ibidem 94–95.

32   Ripa Cesare, *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino* […] *divisa in tre libri* (Venice, Christoforo Tomassini: 1645) 23–4.

FIGURE 7.2 *Anonymous, Black Rectangle in Cartouche, part of* The Album Amicorum
of Jacob Heyblocq *118. Mica on black linen in cut-out cartouche. The Hague,
Royal Library. Image © The Royal Library, The Hague.*

equivalent to the poet's passion that burns itself into the white page as a per-
manent record of its own intensity.

Furthermore, Bruno's dedication possesses just the right level of difficulty
to effectively move from being a readily recognizable *emblem* of love into a
composition closer to an *impresa*—where words and images are, at once, both
rooted in commonplaces and uniquely configured to serve the goals of a partic-
ular subjectivity. As early modern authors of *imprese* and emblem books con-
curred, whereas one of the chief values of an emblem was its ability to convey
abstract ideas and moral precepts to a wide range of readers, an *impresa* was
often intended to be understood only to its owner and his closest familiars.[33]

This negotiation between the formulaic and the idiosyncratic is charac-
teristic of most of the other contributions to Heyblocq's album. Thus we find
another friend, the paint dealer Jacob Quina Sr., observing that Heuyblocq's
album is graced (*decorat*) by learned emblems (*symbola docta*). Yet, even as
acknowledges the importance of the emblem as a comparable word/image

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33   For these distinctions, see Daly P. M., *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural
Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries*
(Toronto: 1998) 23–28.

conceit, he suggests that his contribution is not a mere nod to this convention. Rather, by offering an homage composed by two hands, his own lines and the drawing added by his son Jacob Quina Jr., he creates a 'sign of long-standing affection [...] from a grateful father and his son'.[34] Though Quina's dedication is certainly less obscure than that of Bruno, it is just as informed by the idea that even the most conventional emblematic constructions can be subtly refigured through various levels of allegorical veiling, as well as their specific context of use.[35]

The same can be said for the string of mutually related messages set in motion by the Leiden poet Martinus Lydius on May 22, 1646. Sounding a note of decorous humility, Lydius begins by asking Heyblocq why he has invited the lowly 'nettle' of his insignificant self to add his words to the 'crown of laurels' woven by the other illustrious contributors to the album. The answer to this rhetorical question follows in the next sentence: for the sake of their friendship.[36]

He continues with a parallel between their mutual devotion and that of the ancient paragons of friendship, Orestes and Pylades, who were willing to die for one another. This is another common trope, both in *alba amicorum* and in the literature on friendship in general. Thus in that great miscellany on the early-modern self, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton tells the reader that 'the nature of true friendship is to combine' two individuals into 'one minde' and goes on to define this 'perfect amity' as a '*Diapason* of vowes and wishes', like those shared by 'Pylades and Orestes'.[37]

The next line of Lydius's inscription continues in this conventional vein. 'Even if one day a tombstone should cover my body, in my heart I shall be with you', he promises to his friend.[38] Though one might take this statement as another instance of humanist artifice, that would be to disregard an essential fact: that every feeling depends for its expression on the conventions of its time, place, and culture. The recognition of its authenticity happens as one continues reading and encounters Heyblocq's own entry made on December 12, 1561, two

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34   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 55.

35   'Pangimus hoc versus, et pingimus ambo libello,/Pango pater, pingit filius, ambo colunt./ Parte altera filium pingere jubeo', Ibidem. Already with Alciatus, emblems are characterized as possessing a veiled quality which necessitates a deeper consideration. On this, as well as other early modern theorists of emblems who emphasized this cryptic quality, including Bocchi and Aneau, see Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image* 90–3.

36   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 50.

37   Burton R., *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. H. Jackson (New York: 2001) Part 3, Sect. 1, 23.

38   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 50–51.

months after the death of Martinus Lydius himself. 'Your enviable green crown of laurels is now shriveled', he addresses his dead friend, 'and although you have never given yourself in marriage on earth, your soul makes haste now to her heavenly bridegroom'. And then he asks his 'Orestes' if he really died for him, the 'Pylades' of this relationship, only to respond that while that was not possible, their friendship will remain unbreakable even after his friend's body turns to the proverbial dust.[39] This dialectic between the fragility of life and the promise of permanence through words and images is reinforced by the statement that follows, in which Heyblocq compares his text to a 'memorial,' composed 'in deep mourning, to the memory of a sincere and profound friendship after the death of him who was, in life, his very best friend'.[40]

In the following page, Heyblocq offers an apology to Lydius for the fact that despite their earlier vows to die for one another, he was unable to fulfill his part of that promise: he had learned of his friend's death only after it had already happened.[41] Nor does this apology remain unanswered, for as one turns the next page, one finds a contribution in the hand of Nicolaus Lydius, the brother of his dead friend. As Nicolaus states in his 'reply to Mr. Heyblocq's apologies:'

> Promises are debts. A friend is tested in times of need, but the ledger of the dead does not recognize the item 'bail'. What are you complaining about Pylades? You are doing more than your duty: my brother is not dead, he lives on in your poetry.[42]

Nicolaus goes on to praise Heyblocq's love for his dead brother, and the manner in which it shall preserve his memory. Indeed, he recommends that anyone who might take pleasure 'in a sketch of faithful friendship' should try to imitate Heyblocq's poetic monument to his 'Orestes', which provides such a solace to the brother who lives: 'My thanks, Pylades', he says, adding that he must owe him his own brother. And then he concludes with a line inscribed in Greek: 'Sometimes a day is a stepmother, sometimes a mother'.[43]

Through this phrase, borrowed from the last paragraph of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Nicolaus Lydius make a clear appeal for that most valued virtue of prudence—the ability to discern when and how to act, and when to retreat

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39   Ibidem 52–3.
40   Ibidem.
41   Ibidem 54, inscribed in Amsterdam, 1651.
42   Ibidem 55.
43   Ibidem 56.

and allow things to take their natural course.[44] Just as importantly, by setting this aphoristic statement formally apart from the rest of his text, which is written a fluid cursive script, he allows the reader to recognize it as a kind of motto for the larger theme of friendship developed through this conversation between himself, Heyblocq, and his dead brother—the anachronistic portrait of their communion.

The Handwriting of the Soul

This variation of languages and scripts in Heyblocq's album, even within individual contributions, brings us to another important idea established already in antiquity: that the form of a linguistic mark on a page is essential to appreciating its full meaning, just as in oration, the speaker is crucial to the effect of the speech. One can recall here the delight expressed by Marcus Cornelius Fronto when he learns that his pupil Marcus Aurelius will be recording his speech in his own handwriting. Even a person who might think 'little of the speech will be in love with the very letters of it', he tells Aurelius, and even 'he who disdains the thing written will reverence the writer'. [45]

This premium on the personality of the writer as expressed in the character of his script is inseparable from the mastery of penmanship as one of the distinctive qualities that separates the learned man from their less enlightened peers. And this premium was certainly not lost with the advent of the printing press: in some ways, the growing uniformity of books created an even finer appreciation for the value of individual script.[46] In fact, the period of the greatest popularity of *alba amicorum* coincided with the time that saw the publica-

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44   'These days are a great blessing to men on earth; but the rest are changeable, luckless, and bring nothing. Everyone praises a different day but few know their nature. Sometimes a day is a stepmother, sometimes a mother. That man is happy and lucky in them who knows all these things and does his work without offending the deathless gods, who discerns the omens of birds and avoids transgressions'. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 822–828, in *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, trans. H. G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge: 1914).

45   Haines C. R. (ed.), *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto with Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, and Various Friends* (London: 1919) vol. 1, 169. The importance of the hand that inscribes the message is echoed in Cicero's words that in order to protect his identity, he shall use neither his handwriting, nor his seal, as well as his apology to his friend Atticus for sending him a letter written by a scribe, rather than himself. On these examples, see Butler, *The Matter of the Page* 65–66.

46   Ibidem 8.

tions of countless manuals for handwriting, including such notable examples
as Gerard Mercator's *Literarum latinarum* (1540), Giovanni Crespi's *Esemplari
di piu sorti di lettere* (1560), Jean de Beauchesne's *Le Thresor d'Escripture* (1550),
and Jan van den Velde's *Spieghel der Schrijfkonste* (1605).[47] Though composed
in various parts of Europe and various languages, these model books for scripts
had a shared appreciation for the artistic value of pen-strokes, as well as an
understanding that calligraphy ought to be evaluated with the same criteria
used for judging a work of art. This cultural sensitivity to beauty of penman-
ship, as Walter Melion has observed, was predicated on another analogy: 'as
the painter is to the brush, and the brush is to the panel, so is the writing mas-
ter to the quill, and the quill is to the field of paper'.[48]

If one of the main criteria for admission into the educated class, especially in
the university context, was proficiency in a variety of languages, the same can
be said for one's mastery over various script types.[49] Furthermore, as one of the
precursors of modern graphology, Camillo Baldi (1550–1637) would observe in
a treatise of writing of 1622, everything about a text—from the choice of words,
expressions, and concepts, to the individual inflection upon a script—could be
read as a sign of the character of the writer.[50] Again, these are ideas that had
enjoyed a remarkably long currency. Just as Socrates is said to have asked a

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47   For this development, see Dossena M. – Tieken-Boon Van Ostade I. (eds.), *Studies in Late
     Modern English Correspondence: Methodology and Data* (Bern: 2008) 121.

48   Melion W. S., *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* (Chicago: 1991) 230. Just as different forms
     of script can imply different registers of formality and even modes of thinking (one's
     preference for the *bastarda* or the humanist italic, for instance), each instance of use
     of a particular script is both a sign of one's alignment with a group and of one's own
     personality. One of the most spectacular compendia on penmanship, which thematizes
     the fascination with the relationship of words and images during the late renaissance,
     is surely *Mira calligraphiae monumenta,* commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor
     Ferdinand I from the master calligrapher Georg Bosckay, which was then augmented
     under the rein of his grandson, Rudolf II, with exquisite miniatures by Joris Hoefnagel:
     marvels of nature's own making to match the marvels of script. On this collaboration,
     see Hendix L. – Vignau-Wilberg T., *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy from the Court of the
     Emperor Rudolf II* (Los Angeles: 2003) 5.

49   On this, see Hendix – Vignau-Wilberg, *The Art of the Pen* 7.

50   From the 1622 *Trattato come da una lettera missive si conoscano la natura e qualita dello
     scrittore* of Camillo Baldi, as cited by Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* 161. Baldi goes on to
     note his preference for personal letters precisely because of their informality and absence
     of artifice, citing earlier authorities, including Demerius, who had spoken of the way in
     which the form of a letter discloses the heart of its writer, and his later commentator
     Pietro Vettori, who had observed that 'those who read a letter—if they have a discerning
     eye—see at the same time the heart inside the chest of the writer'. Ibidem.

young man to speak so that he could see his soul, and just as Cicero had likened words to mirrors of thoughts (*oratio speculum mentis*), the contributors to *alba amicorum* knew that their inscriptions would be always seen, as well as read, as indices of their inner selves.[51]

This is evident throughout Heyblocq's album, where each contribution feels like a response to, or a continuation of the preceding one, and yet stands apart as a testimony of an individual voice and perspective. At the same time, this dialogue between different personalities, manifested through the variety of languages, scripts, and hands they use, is always in service of maintaining the open-ended spirit of a convivium of equals who, as Erasmus would famously declare in the very first of his *Adages*, hold all things in common. The Horatian *sententia* 'Skilled or unskilled, we scribble poetry, all alike', inscribed by the magistrate Jan van Hartoghvelt on June 23, 1660, speaks to this very ideal of unity in diversity and its fulfillment in the album as a most unmediated portrait (*simplex imago*) of its owner.[52]

The Self and Its Mirror

The idea of the *simplex imago* inevitably calls to mind the related notion of the friend as a living mirror of one's own consciousness. One can easily look for classical precedents to this idea in Cicero's words in *De Amicitia*, that the contemplation of a true friend is akin to looking at one's own image, or in Seneca's epistles, where contemplation of exemplary figures—either directly or through our imagination—is recommended not only because of what we can learn from their virtues, but because of what we can become through that act of spiritual comingling.[53]

The best-known visual restatement of this ideal within the genre of *alba amicorum* is arguably the self-portrait that Otto van Veen draws on the first page of his own book of mementoes. By representing his face within a frame, though not as a painted image but as a mirror, he not only reminds the reader of the Socratic dictum γνῶθι σεαυτόν (know thyself) but also suggests that the

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51   On these classical places, see Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* 162.

52   Horace, *Epistles*, 2.1.117, trans. H. R. Fairclough, as cited in *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 85. For Bruno's sentence 'Haec est Heyblocqui simplex, spectator, imago' see Ibidem 94.

53   Cicero, *De Amicitia* 21.81; Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 3; both discussed by Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship* 168–170 and 141, for the contemplation as an act of comingling of souls, with specific references to Lipsius.

entire volume should be seen as a *speculum amicitiae*. As Van Veen clarifies with an inscription below this image, just as the mirror needs a non-reflective backing in order to create truthful reflections, the exterior form of a person necessitates a similarly non-reflective backing by inner virtue. Thus, by extension, as each of his virtuous friends behold his portrait and recognizes it as a mirror of their own selves, as well as an image of their friend, the album realizes its ultimate purpose: to elide the distinction between the viewer/reader and the object of contemplation.[54]

The meaning of Van Veen's self-portrait in a mirror is also elucidated by his emblem-devises in the *Amorum Emblemata* of 1608. One that has a particular relevance in this regard is the emblem showing a cupid who holds a mirror to his beloved. As Walter Melion has observed, both the image and the inscription speak of an ideal affection that is as pure (*candidus*) and as transparent (*fronte in aperta*) as the reflective surface of the perfectly polished mirror.[55] The same ideal of purity and transparency of affection is embodied in the mirror that Van Veen holds up to the contributors of his album as he invites them to reflect upon him, themselves, and their friendship just as truthfully and unburdened by the artifice of social conventions.[56]

The frontispiece of the Heyblocq album, though merely a text framed as an image, represents a comparable invitation for reflection upon the bond of virtuous friendship that shall be established and nurtured through each individual contribution. And just as in many other *alba amicorum* from the period, the authenticity of this book of mementoes is predicated on its open-endedness and unpredictability. Even the most formulaic quotations are given a new lease of life when used in a new context, especially when the author considers not only his own relationship to the owner, but how his contribution works next to

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54   As Kate Bomford observes, the mirror's 'reflective surface proposes an elision of viewer and subject and creates an ideal, potential self-image'. Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship* 148.

55   Melion, "Venus/Venius" 27.

56   The ribbon by which it hangs has long been recognized as an allusion to Atropos, the Fate who snips the thread of life spun and measured by her sisters. This meaning is clearly reinforced by the Horatian admonishment inscribed in the banderole above—that one should live each day as if it were one's last (*Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum*, Horace, *Epistle* 1.4.1). On this, see Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship* 146. This word/image combination, and the paradoxical construct of permanence-in-impermanence it stands for is a reminder for each contributor that the mirror exists only when contemplated: whether by looking, leafing through, or writing in one's own words and images. Thus, even as this album imparts its *homo bulla* message, it affirms itself as a monument that lasts for as long as it is read.

another one, by a person whom he may, or may not know himself.[57] In other words, by its very structure, the Heyblocq *album amicorum* (like other examples of its genre) creates the possibility of endless combinations of words and images. These combinations may be governed by well-established humanist conceits, yet each one is as unique as its author and the circumstances of its inscription.

This kind of open-endedness would have surely added to the appeal of *alba amicorum* in general, given the reading habits of the educated community that sought to immortalize its fellowship within their pages. Moreover, the potential of old words and images to yield new meanings through endless varieties of uses would have been in line with the humanist appreciation for games, both as leisurely distractions and metaphors for the larger structure of being. In some of the actual games played within elite circles, a book might be passed among a group of friends, each of whom would choose a question and then seek its answer through a circuitous path of words and images within its pages. These itineraries created fragments of meaning that could be recombined with others in multiple ways, allowing the book to become, in the words of Lina Bolzoni, a 'place of all possible stories'.[58] As for the deeper meaning of these endless combinations, she mentions the words of the great theorist of the *concetto* Emanuele Tesauro who compares the cards held by a player to the universe itself in a sense that their simultaneous order and confusion create a faithful mirror of its endless variety.[59]

Whether by chance or intent, the contributors to Heyblocq's album often surprise the reader—as they probably surprised each other—by the games they play with each other as well. Sometimes, this spirit of play is manifested in intriguing juxtapositions of words and images. In other instances, we see

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57   One cannot consider the meaning of any of these contributions without an appreciation for the philological method, and the manner in which it influenced the reading and interpreting habits of humanists throughout Europe. In the Northern European context, the most influential proponent of this philological method, in which every meaning of a word, or even a character on a page, depends on its context, is certainly Erasmus. For a useful overview, see Rummel E., *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto: 1985) 95 ff.

58   Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory* 117, with particular focus on *Le sorti intitulate giardino di pensieri* (A book of divinations entitled the garden of thoughts) by Francesco Marcolini (Venice, 1540). As Bolzoni notes, the book/game as described by Marcolini, produces a text, or 'a textual fragment that can be combined with other fragments in various ways' that call to mind the operations of chance. In this way, the book/game becomes a kind of an 'ingenious duplicate of the world', and a way of confronting chance through fanciful combinations of words and images. Ibidem.

59   Ibidem 119.

FIGURE 7.3 *Govaert Flinck, "Scholar in His Study" (1656), part of* The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq *153. Pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash on paper. The Hague, Royal Library. Image © The Royal Library, The Hague.*

it in the ways in which contributors offer subtle comments to each other, or shift their tone and register in a manner that evokes the serio-ludic character of a humanist dialogue. One example of these juxtapositions involves a fine drawing signed by Govert Flinck dated to 1656, in which a melancholic scholar is pondering what he has just read as he gazes absent-mindedly somewhere beyond the walls of his study [Fig. 7.3].[60] The facing page bears an inscription by another contributor, the Amsterdam poet Pieter Dubbels. Though Dubbels's words may, or may not be related to Flinck's drawing, they create an apt counterpart to its message about the vanity of all intellectual pursuits: 'My death, Christ's death, the world's praise, heavenly glory and the pain of Hell must be in my thoughts'.[61]

At stake here is not whether Dubbels actually wrote these lines inspired by Flinck or vice versa, but the conversation itself, and the way in which it allows the reader to speculate on the possible relationship between the two men—even if it may be impossible to ever establish its nature. By the same token, as one continues to leaf through the album, one is prompted to consider

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60   *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq*, ed. Thomasen – Gruys 110.
61   Ibidem 109.

if Flinck's choice of an image of a melancholic scholar is not, in some way, informed by the statement of the Leiden philologist and poet Daniel Heinsius inscribed in May of 1646: 'There is so much that we do not know!'.[62]

This dialogue across different times and places does not lack moments of irreverence and levity either. Consider the dedication that the poet and physician Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch—a cousin of Heyblocq—made on November 24, 1664:

> What now, cousin? Do you have no more mussel shells, scrap paper, old school exercises, mourning cards, cabbage leaves or pasquinades that you come and ask me to provide your privy with toilet paper? All right, I am happy to make these verses available for one of the wisest arse holes. This, for example, is one of them.
> p.s. Is it not a pity that of all the nice pages [in the album] one of them must disappear into the pot because I have sullied it?[63]

The uncommonly impolite language in this passage may become less offensive to the reader as one reads the second message from the same man, inscribed on the following day:

> 'The glory of the world is smoke',
> that is:
> The glory of the world is only smoke but smoke is also the best thing the world has produced.
> For those who understand.[64]

Those who understand are, presumably, the most subtle of readers, who will be offended neither by the indecorousness of the doctor, nor by the unidentified author of a possibly independent, but more likely related drawing of a squatting man who is rather matter-of-factly wiping his private parts after defecation [Fig. 7.4].[65]

The most helpful suggestion as to how one might think of the relationships between the individual acts of this performance may be contained in the entry of Jan de Bray of July 28, 1661. In a sensitive pen and ink drawing, this Haarlem painter portrays a chess player, alone in a room, holding one of the figures

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62   Ibidem 108.
63   Ibidem 83.
64   Ibidem 115. As the editors of the 1998 edition point out, Van Focquenbroch used the smoke metaphor for human life and endeavors in many of his poems.
65   Ibidem 159.

FIGURE 7.4   *Anonymous, "Man Relieving Himself", part of* The Album Amicorum of Jacob
             Heyblocq *245. Black chalk on paper. The Hague, Royal Library. Image © The Royal
             Library, The Hague.*

of this game as he ponders his next move [Fig. 7.5]. He is looking attentively towards the beholder, his implicit partner and opponent. Yet the game seems to be already over, since most pieces are lying in disarray on the chessboard. The meaning of this gesture is elucidated by De Bray's words on the facing page:

> What else is man? You cannot play chess on your own, so if no one wants to play with me, then I shall have to abandon the game.[66]

66   Ibidem.

FIGURE 7.5   *Jan de Bray, "Chess Player" (1661), part of* The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq
*249. Pen and brown ink on paper. The Hague, Royal Library. Image © The Royal
Library, The Hague.*

Everything in this small volume, this painter seems to be saying, is like an end-
less game of chess whose outcome may never be known, but whose principal
value is to provide a place for all possible conversations.

At the same time, as we open the last few pages of the album, we seem to
uncover one larger theme that ties those conversations together. The specific
pages I have in mind contain four thematically related drawings, each one
inscribed with a fragment of a verse. Read in sequence, they disclose their ori-
gin in one of Propertius's elegies: 'The sailor tells of winds, the ploughman of
oxen; the soldier counts his wounds, the shepherd his sheep' [Figs. 7.6–7.7].
Though it is not known who commissioned these four vignettes, or what kind
of collaboration between artists and writers they may have involved, their mes-
sage is rather unambiguous—that one should remain true to one's nature. As
Propertius explains in the next line of the source poem, everyone should act in
accordance with his inclination and occupation, and dedicate himself to his
own art.

Even in this instance, however, we remain aware of the contingency of
meaning by the fact that these drawings are not set together into an uninter-
rupted sequence. Rather, they are interleaved with pages bearing two other
sketches by different hands. The first one is signed by Jacob van der Does and
shows the tomb of the Emperor Nero; the second, signed by a certain C. de
Rooy, shows a pauper mending his shirt [Fig. 7.8]. Van der Does, who had also

FIGURE 7.6 *Anonymous, "Ship under Full Sail with, on the Coast, Two Persons by a Beacon"* (*after 1666*) The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq *301. Black chalk on paper. The Hague, Royal Library. Image © The Royal Library, The Hague.*

FIGURE 7.7 *Anonymous, "Man Ploughing with an Ox" (after 1666), part of* The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq *303. Black chalk and pen and brown ink on paper. The Hague, Royal Library. Image © The Royal Library, The Hague.*

FIGURE 7.8   *C. de Rooy, "Sitting Man Mending His Shirt" (after 1666), part of* The Album
Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq *299. Black chalk on paper. The Hague, Royal Library.
Image © The Royal Library, The Hague.*

drawn the shepherd tending to his sheep, explains his drawing of Nero's final
resting place by appealing to the virtue of moderation, which that infamous
ruler sorely lacked in all of his affairs. He then concludes that just as 'not every
delight is wholesome, not everything which is boring is bad'.[67]

Though De Rooy's drawing of the pauper does not come with a compara-
ble verbal explication, it calls to mind another of Erasmus's favorite sayings,
that poverty is a source of wisdom. This idea enjoyed particular popularity
among Leiden humanists such as Heinsius, that is, within the intellectual
milieu associated with Heyblocq's formative years. Poverty, as these humanists
often emphasized, keeps one honest, teaches humility and leads to an under-
standing of the humble reason.[68] And that humble reason, if we go back to
Propertius, is that for all of the different paths we may take on our life journey,
we are all equal in the end—just like the collective self-portrait of Heyblocq
and his friends discloses through its own *concordia discors*.

The portrait of friendship sketched through the words and images in
Heyblocq's album would not have surprised Montaigne, who declares in the
very first of his essays that man 'is a marvelously vain, diverse, and undulating

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67   Ibidem 297.

68   On the value of these qualities among Leiden humanists, see Somos M., *Secularisation
and the Leiden Circle* (Leiden: 2011) 98–9.

object'.[69] Though it may be impossible to find 'any constant and uniform judgment' on any one of us, what we share is much more important than what separates us, as he implies by the very title of that essay: *By diverse means we arrive at the same end.*[70] That same idea may well be the key to understanding the ultimate goal of Heyblocq's *album amicorum* as a group portrait of friends, where each is pursuing his own path yet they are somehow meeting one another through serendipity or intention, at various intersections of words and images. And it is this very uncertainty that gives the entire genre its modern character as a free-form investigation of the 'big questions,' very much in line with Montaigne's acknowledgment that by not understanding his own voyage through life until it was complete, he became a 'new figure: an unpremeditated and accidental philosopher'.[71]

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69   Montaigne M. de, 'By diverse means we arrive at the same end', I, 1, in *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, ed.–trans. D. Frame (Stanford: 1994) 5.

70   Ibidem.

71   Montaigne, "Apology for Raymond Sebond", II:12, in *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, 409. For a study of his self-fashioning as a new kind of unsystematic thinker who follows his nature as the best guide for his actions, see Hartle A., *Montaigne: The Accidental Philosopher* (Cambridge: 2003).

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Visualizing the Body Politic

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Picturing the 'Living' Tabernacle in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible

Pamela Merrill Brekka

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572) sponsored by Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598) comprised one of the most important book publishing projects in later sixteenth-century Europe.[1] This eight-volume multi-language bible was richly illustrated with dozens of full-page copperplate engravings, including pictorial title pages, frontispieces, large historiated initials, architectural plans, Holy Land maps, and the first-known double-hemispheric world map in a bible. This oversize edition, international in scope and grand in scale, involved the collaboration of Europe's leading printer, orientalists and theologians. The Polyglot was first and foremost a *Biblia regia*, a monument to Philip, King of 'the Spains, Jerusalem & etc.', whose consummate challenge in administrating his knotty web of dominions flowed from its ethnic and religious diversity.[2] Above all, this 'Most Catholic Monarch' sought religious hegemony in his pluralistic empire, modeled after the universal Church. Philip intended the Polyglot to provide a standard for authoritative bibles published in the original languages, and to compete with the printed Protestant editions flooding the sixteenth-century European book market. Philip saw Spain as the new Holy Land, Madrid as the new Jerusalem, the Escorial as the new Temple, and promoted this idea by constructing an ancient Hebrew patrimony

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1 Montano Benito Arias (ed.), *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, 8 vols. (Antwerp, Plantin: 1572).

2 For recent literature on the Antwerp Polyglot, see Shalev Z., "The Antwerp Polyglot Bible: Maps, Scholarship, and Exegesis", in *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden – London: 2012) 23–71; Wilkinson R. J., *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden – Boston: 2007); van der Heide A., "The Hebrew Book", in *Hebraica Veritas: Christopher Plantin and the Christian Hebraists* (Antwerp: 2008) 79–96; Bowen K. L. – Imhof D., "A Royal Polyglot Bible", in *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge – New York: 2008) 84–106; Hänsel S., *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) und die Kunst* (Münster: 1991). For in-depth exegetical interpretations of the Antwerp Polyglot's title-page, frontispieces and selected illustrations, see Clifton J. – Melion W. S., *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustrations in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (New York – London: 2009) 26–49, 111–117.

for his empire.[3] The Polyglot is dedicated to Philip, who became a self-fashioned Josiah/Solomon/Aaron, protector of divine truth, architect and priest, whose multi-language bible would unite the disparate nations into one *Yglesia universal*, a grand imperial scheme in the spirit of the Josianic reforms, pictorially staged across the complex visual program of the Polyglot.[4]

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible was edited by Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), 'the most learned man in Europe', and Philip's advisor on this project. Montano was an expert Hebraist, theologian, and the Escorial librarian. He oversaw the Polyglot's production, authored volume eight, and was responsible for the Polyglot's entire visual program. There are eleven full-page images in volumes one through seven. Volume eight, the last of three volumes (the *Apparatus sacer*) that serve as the Polyglot's *scholia*, incorporates fifteen images designed by Montano. The first book in volume eight "Joseph, or Interpretation of the Arcane Language", known as *De Arcano Sermone*, sets the tone for the authoritarian Hebrew ethnographies elaborated therein. It is an exposition of the complexities of the Hebrew language, and reflects Montano's belief that when literally interpreted, the arcane language revealed sacred Christian truths. These mysteries, Montano contended, could be plumbed and unveiled by the astute and patient reader. Montano promoted, for example, the study of *exemplaria*, or divine models for sacred buildings, via a close reading of scripture in Hebrew. The Polyglot's censors encouraged Montano not to include *De Arcano Sermone*—they argued that it made the Polyglot's apparatus 'too bulky', and a correct literal translation of Hebrew was at any rate elusive, as the language contained no vowels.[5] Montano's stubborn refusal to omit this treatise clarifies its centrality to the entire premise of the publication.

The unifying theme of volume eight is Montano's ethnography of the ancient Hebrews, which consists of tractates on the origin and evolution of the world and its peoples, from creation to the time of Christ. Like widely popular contemporary cosmographies, the migration narratives are illuminated by maps and diagrams, including detailed elevations of the three foundational building projects as described in the Old Testament: the ark of Noah, the Mosaic

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3   See Beaver A., *A Holy Land for the Catholic Monarchy: Palestine in the Making of Modern Spain, 1469–1598* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University: 2008).

4   For more on this and a critical catalogue of the Antwerp Polyglot's entire visual corpus, see Brekka P. M., *The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572): Visual Corpus, New World 'Hebrew-Indian' Map, and the Religious Crosscurrents of Imperial Spain* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida: 2012). 'Josianic' refers to the biblical Josiah, 7th century BCE.

5   The Louvain censors to Montano in MS. Stockholm, letter dated July 22, 1570: 'Recipimus priorem partem Apparatus cui titulus De Arcani Sermonis Interpretatione [...] quod in maximam molem excrescent libris non prorsus necessariis non esse augmentandum et gravandum'.

tabernacle, and Solomon's temple. Montano's "Exemplar, or Book of Sacred Buildings" in volume eight, contains individual tractates on these monuments. Of the illustrations in the Antwerp Polyglot, the architectural profiles of the desert tabernacle shown in section (*sciographia*) and elevation (*orthographia*) have remained the most puzzling to scholars. These detailed profiles include animated planks of wood, each with clearly discernable full-length hooded male figures [Fig. 8.1]. The tabernacle beams, like the Polyglot image of Christ in the ark [Fig. 8.2] have been anthropomorphized. Montano does not mention the human figures in his Polyglot tractates on these building projects, which has led to scholarly speculation. Zur Shalev describes the figures as 'bearded old men', and suggests they may correspond with the Seraphim, associated with God's seat in heaven, as described in Midrashic literature.[6] This interpretation is problematic, as the figures *do* appear to be old and bearded, but not angelic, and not at all like traditional iconographical representations of Seraphim.

The beam figures are not idealized, but appear trapped within the confines of the wood beams. They are shown in a range of positions—from the front, side and back. Some of the faces feature open mouths and exaggerated features. I propose that the figures in the tabernacle wood reflect Platonic theory associated with *simulacrum*, meaning 'phantasm', 'semblance' or 'false likeness'. They are the manifestation of the 'crude image' described by Montano in the "Exemplar" tractate "Bezalel, or On the Tabernacle".[7] In this treatise Montano elucidates the dichotomy associated with God's *exemplaria*, by which he 'demonstrates himself the supreme artificer', as contrasted with their visible form, human *rudem imaginem*. Crude or rudimentary images, which God permits by human artifice, are the earthly reflection of God's divine artistry. The old men in the tabernacle beams are not angelic figures; rather, they reflect a Platonic interpretation of *simulacrum* or 'false likeness'. These crude figures, unfinished in appearance, are contrasted with the singular exemplar, the model *par excellence*, the perfect body of Christ. Christ in the ark [Fig. 8.2] is *acheiropoieta*, 'made without hands', while the animated beams are a contrivance of man, manufactured by Bezalel, according to the 'pattern' God

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6 Shalev, "Antwerp Polyglot" (note 97) 66.

7 In Latin: 'Fuit autem exemplar admirandum Moysi in monte a Deo ostensum, spirituale illud quidem, & inuisibili materia, divino plane artificio constructum, Deoque habitatori gratissimum, & præter omnes terrenas fabricas oportunissimum cuius aliquam etiam spiritualem descriptionem nos indicaturos speramus, artifice summo demonstrante ipso Deo. Se illam visibilem formam, quam illius exemplaris velut rudem imaginem in terris exprimere licuit, nunc explicare contenti sumus. Ostensum est igitur verum ipsum exemplar prohetæ admiranti & discenti, S. S. E.'; *rudem* variously translated as 'crude', 'rough' or 'rudimentary'.
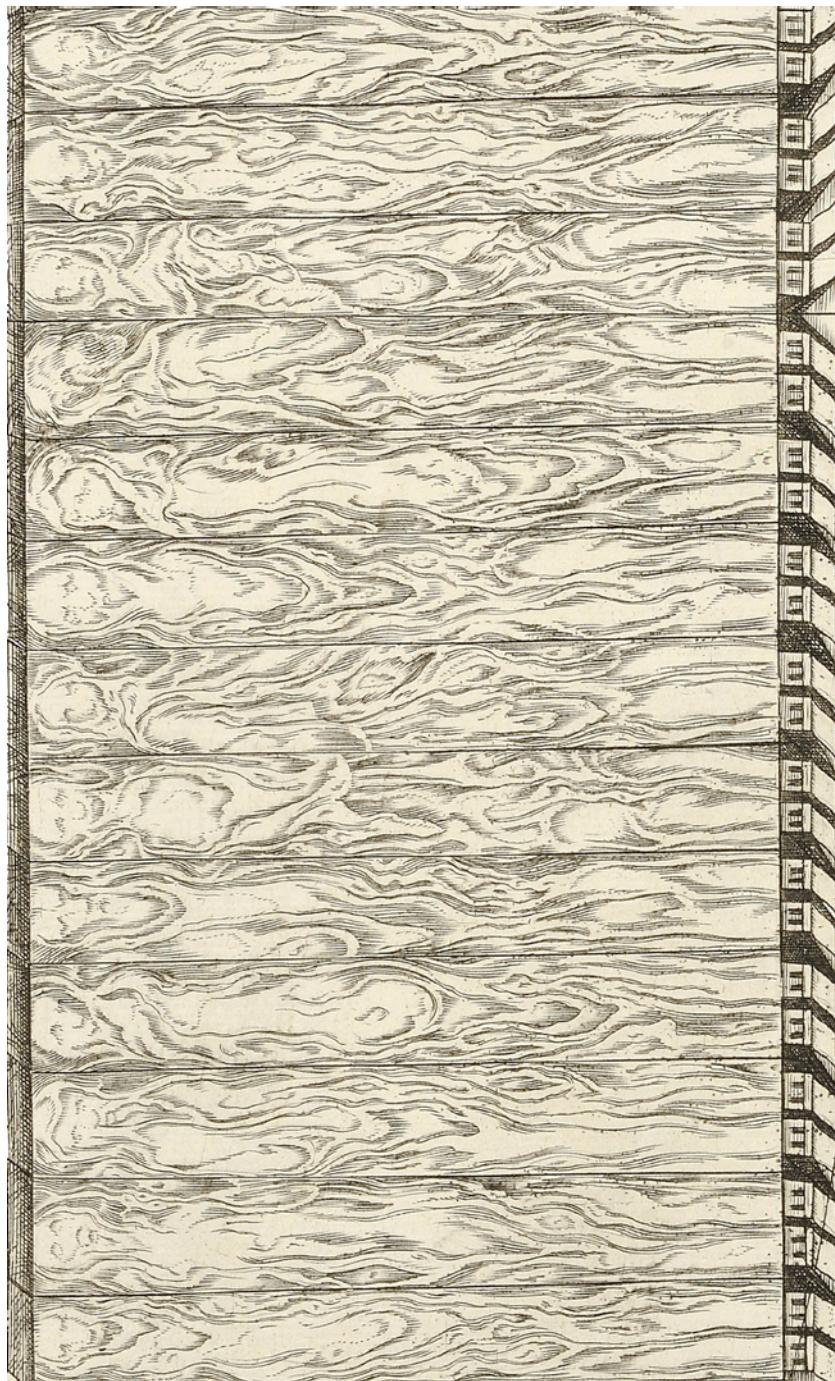
FIGURE 8.1   *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, figures in wood grain, detail from engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi interiori", in Arias Montano (ed.), Biblia Sacra [...] (Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 26". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*
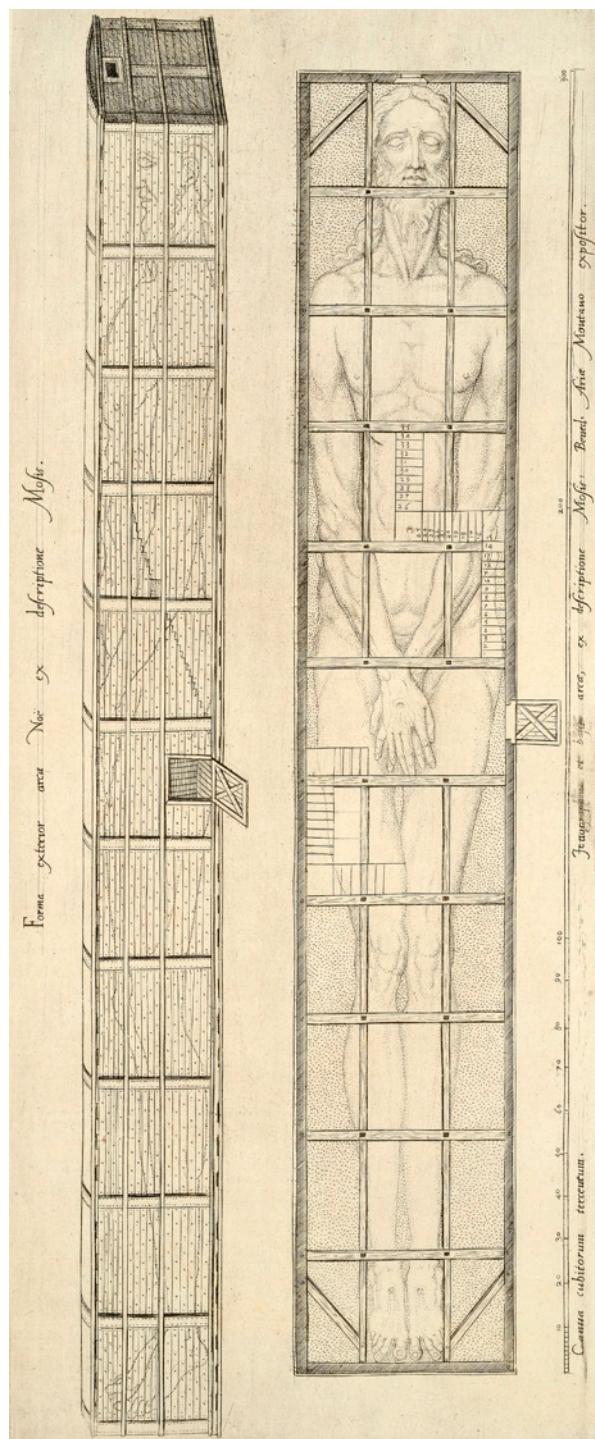
FIGURE 8.2 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Arca Noe", in Arias Montano (ed.), Biblia Sacra [...] (Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 22". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*

showed Moses.[8] Human artifice is emphasized by the uniform, milled nature of the wood. These are the visible form of the divine model, Montano says, 'in which God happily resided'. The tabernacle drawings are technical in nature, and like blueprints, are associated with artifice, the handiwork of man. In "Exemplar" Montano emphasizes 'the many and great labors that went into these edifices fabricated at God's command'. Crude images can be related to anamorphic images, a term coined by Gaspar Schott in 1657, which means 'distorted form,' or 'that which lacks a proper shape'.[9] Anamorphoses were sometimes used to conceal political imagery, as in Erhard Schön's *Vexierbild* woodcut of 1530 (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), in which 'the structure of disguise and revelation served as an allegory of God's omnipotence as manifest in or behind all natural phenomena'.[10] Schön's *Vexierbild*, or 'secret images' present distorted profiles of prominent rulers, including Ferdinand I, whose likeness is masked by a miniature view of the siege of Vienna.

Plato established the significance of the viewer's perspective in his *Sophist* dialogue on likeness versus imitation [236B–D]: ' "What shall we call that which, since it is not seen from a favorable perspective, appears to resemble the beautiful thing, but which, if someone could obtain the power to see things of such a size adequately, is not like that which it says it resembles?" ' In other words, when a figure that claims to be a likeness, but is actually 'not like that which is says it resembles', is seen from the ground, which is 'a favorable perspective', it appears warped. This rhetoric of perspective facilitates an exegetical illumination of the Polyglot's scriptural text, and also accounts for the anthropomorphized architecture. It is a geographic-chorographic dual-mode of perception, commonly employed in cosmography illustrations and atlases of the period. According to this optical scheme, the manmade image is viewed from a fixed point on or near ground level, while God has a privileged view of his creation from above. Both Christ and the beam figures are shown full-length, but the old men are presented (architecturally speaking) in profile, from the ground, while the body of Christ in the ark is shown in plan (*iconographia*). The difference in these two perspectives mirrors a biblical typology

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8   For *acheiropoietai* and Renaissance art, see Nagel A. – Wood C. S., *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: 2010) 123–134; Koerner J. L., *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Art* (Chicago – London: 1996) 80–126. For medieval precedents, see Belting H., *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschicte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: 1990).

9   For more on anamorphosis, see Grootenboer H., *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (Chicago – London: 2005) 100–112.

10   Ibidem 102.

associated with 'old' and 'new' featured throughout the Polyglot images and treatises. According to Paul, the 'old man' who is corrupt, is superseded by the 'new man', who is Christ:

> Unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ. That thenceforth we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive. But doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in him who is the head, even Christ. From whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity [...] put off, according to former conversation, the old man, who is corrupted according to the desire of error. And be renewed in the spirit of your mind. And put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth. [Ephesians 4:13–23][11]

'Old man' is variously translated as 'old manner'. Paul admonishes his audience to 'put off' the former corrupt 'manner' of living and its 'wicked' doctrine, and embrace the new perfect 'manner' of living, unto the 'perfect man', who is Christ. The image of Christ in the ark immediately precedes the tabernacle images in volume eight. The old law in Hebrew, personified by the old men and artifice, are *simulacra*, which are the false likeness of the perfect exemplar and new law, the 'not-made' corpus of Christ.

The ark of Noah is shown in both plan and elevation on the same folio [Fig. 8.2]. The body of Christ is presented aerially, a God's-eye view, juxtaposed with a profile view of the built ark. According to Montano in the "Exemplar" tractate "Noah, or the Structure and Form of the Ark", the ark, which housed the group of eight chosen to re-populate the post-diluvial earth, here serves as a 'cradle' for the body of Christ, that is, the Christian Church in its infancy.[12] The *perfect* body of Christ is contrasted with artifice, that which is manmade and prone to corruption. The proportions of the idealized corpus exactly match the proportions of the ark. Sylvaine Hänsel argues this illustration is modeled after Vitruvian theories that associate the perfect building with the

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11   Here and throughout, longer biblical passages taken from Challoner R. (ed.), *The Holy Bible, Douay Rheims Version, Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Baltimore: 1899; reprint ed., Rockford: 1971).

12   *Nidum* variously translated as cradle or nest.

proportions of a perfect man.[13] The Polyglot's elite audience would have made this association. Renaissance artists understood and applied Vitruvius's theories on proportion, and Montano, indefatigable scholar, had unlimited access to the Escorial's 14,000 volume collection.[14] In general, the Polyglot imagery would have had special appeal to the work's sponsor, Philip of Spain. In light of his famously busy schedule and the copious number of *billetes* (memos) he sent and received daily, Philip was known as a consummate 'skimmer' of the written word. Concerning the Polyglot, he would have, at the very least, looked at the pictures.

The double view of the ark shown on the same page mimics the dual-mode of perspective commonly employed by cartographers in the sixteenth century. This geographic-chorographic modality, as promoted by the second century cartographer Ptolemy, is a visual strategy employed in the Polyglot, which incorporates a world map, maps of regions and views of settlements. Widely published cosmographies of the period illustrated Ptolemy's projections with the relationship of an ear to a head, that is, the relationship of a part to a whole. According to this relationship, a geographic map of a state or continent shows the extent of land with its terrestrial features, including bodies of water and mountains—that is, God's creation. A regional map or view with its topographical details articulates the mediated landscape or built environment, which is the handiwork of man. Scholars have argued that Renaissance interest in Ptolemy's projections can be associated with nascent perspectival strategies being developed at the time by artists.[15] In the second preface of the Polyglot's first volume, Montano establishes the relationship between geography, topography, and sacred architecture. Pictorially, the association between Christ's body and a geographic map of the world had precedents in medieval cartographic and mystic traditions. The image of Christ in the ark can be iconographically linked to Medieval *mappimundi* which commonly depicted Christ's body conflated with a single-hemispheric map of the world. The *Psalter Map* of c. 1265 after Hugh of St. Victor (British Library), and the thirteenth century *Ebstorf Mappimundi* (now lost), both show a world map as a round sphere with

13   Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist* 16.

14   Maria Portuondo rejects the idea that Montano was influenced by Greco-Roman sources, but instead relied solely on a strict reading of the Hebrew text; Portuondo M., "Benito Arias Montano's Hermeneutics of Nature", paper delivered at the conference, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598): Biblical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, Princeton University, May 13–14, 2011.

15   See Cattaneo A., "Map Projections and Perspective in the Renaissance", in Shalev Z. – Burnett C. (eds.), *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (London – Turin: 2011) 53–84.

the head of Christ, and Jerusalem as the corpus navel. The Polyglot's image of Christ in the ark is remarkably similar to a visual reconstruction of Hugh of St. Victor's (1096–1141) lectures on the *Mystic Ark*. It shows a *mappimundi* with Christ's head and arms, and the ark of Noah situated vertically in the center of the single hemisphere of the world, which is the body of Christ.[16]

The Polyglot presents four pictorial articulations of the Mosaic tabernacle: the plan, *Tabernaculum anterius* [Fig. 8.3], an elevation of the interior, *Tabernaculi interiori* [Fig. 8.4], an elevation of the exterior, *Tabernaculi exteriori* [Fig. 8.5], and an elevation of the completed exterior with its textile and skin coverings, *Tabernaculi absoluti* [Fig. 8.6]. All of the tabernacle images include the anthropomorphized beams, except for the first image, the tabernacle plan. This incorporates an aerial perspective [Fig. 8.3] similar to Christ in the ark. Just as the ark walls provide a cradle or outline that delimits the sacred presence of Christ, so too does the plan of the tabernacle enclosure provide a dwelling place for God. In the ark plan, a perfect body represents the incarnate presence of God. In the tabernacle plan, the presence of the unseen God is represented by negative space. The plan of the tabernacle contrasts with the remaining three views of the tabernacle, articulated in elevation, a perspective associated with artifice. The comparison between Christ in the ark and the men in the tabernacle beams is emphasized by the delimiting confines of the ark and the delimiting confines of the wood beams—in both elaborations, the bodies fill the space. In contrast, the corpus appears dormant, protected and floating, as an obedient child who silently conforms to his father's will. In the "Noah" tractate, Montano compares the ark to the cradle that protected the infant Moses on the Nile. The wood beam figures, by contrast, have warped, twisting postures, and open mouths. They appear trapped with a desire to move.

The *Tabernaculi interiori* [Fig. 8.4] is the first of three images showing the anthropomorphized planks of wood. God commanded the tabernacle be constructed of twenty upright acacia beams on the north and south sides [Exodus 26:15–2], and twenty beams are shown. Acacia or *shittah* trees were native to Egypt and commonly found in the desert regions associated with the ancient Hebrew wanderings. It is a thorny, flowering tree that yields hard wood.[17] While there is no known Christian source for the anthropomorphized beams, they may be associated with the *Sefer Charedim* of 1550 in which author R. Eliezer Azkari compares the human body to the temple of the Lord: 'You are a temple

16   Rudolph C., *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor and the Multiplication and Systematization of Imagery in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: in press).

17   Balfour J. H., *The Plants of the Bible, Trees and Shrubs* (Edinburgh – New York: 1857) 31–32.
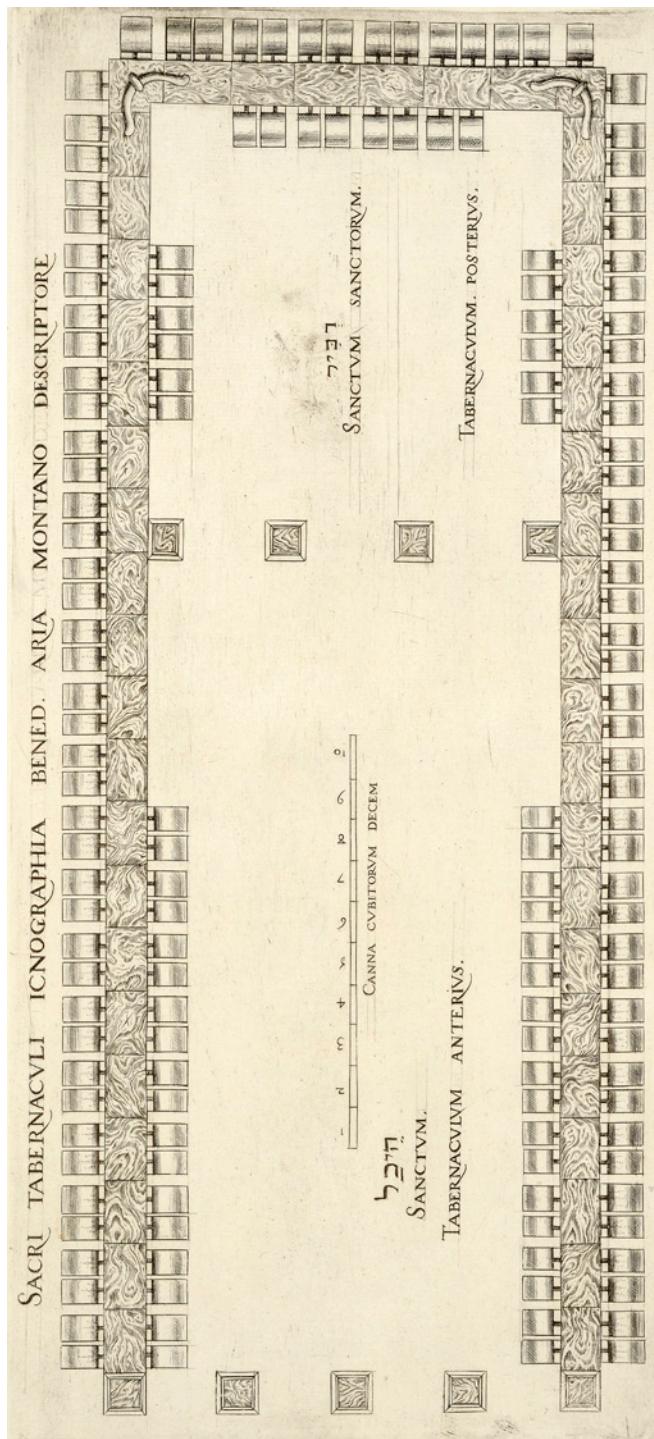
FIGURE 8.3 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculum anterius", in Arias Montano (ed.),*
Biblia Sacra [...] (Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 24". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.
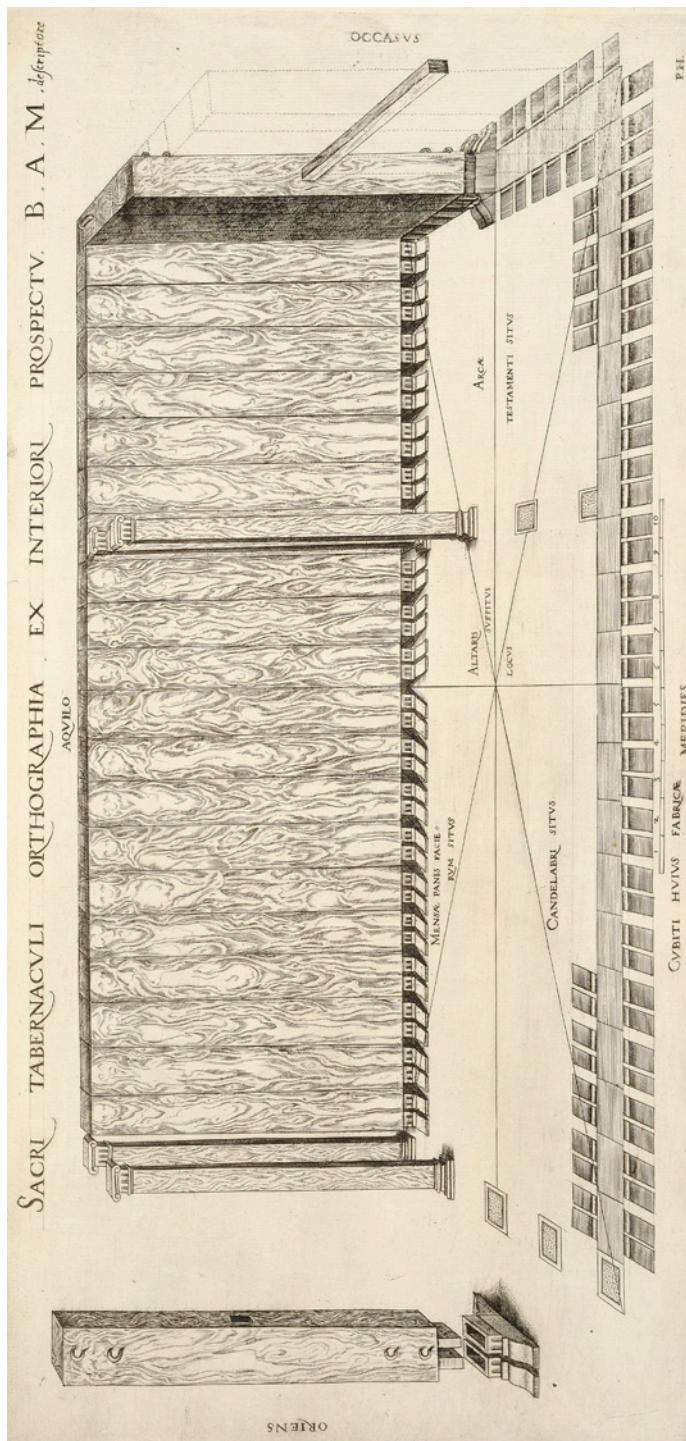
FIGURE 8.4 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi interiori", in Arias Montano (ed.),* Biblia Sacra [...] *(Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 26". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*
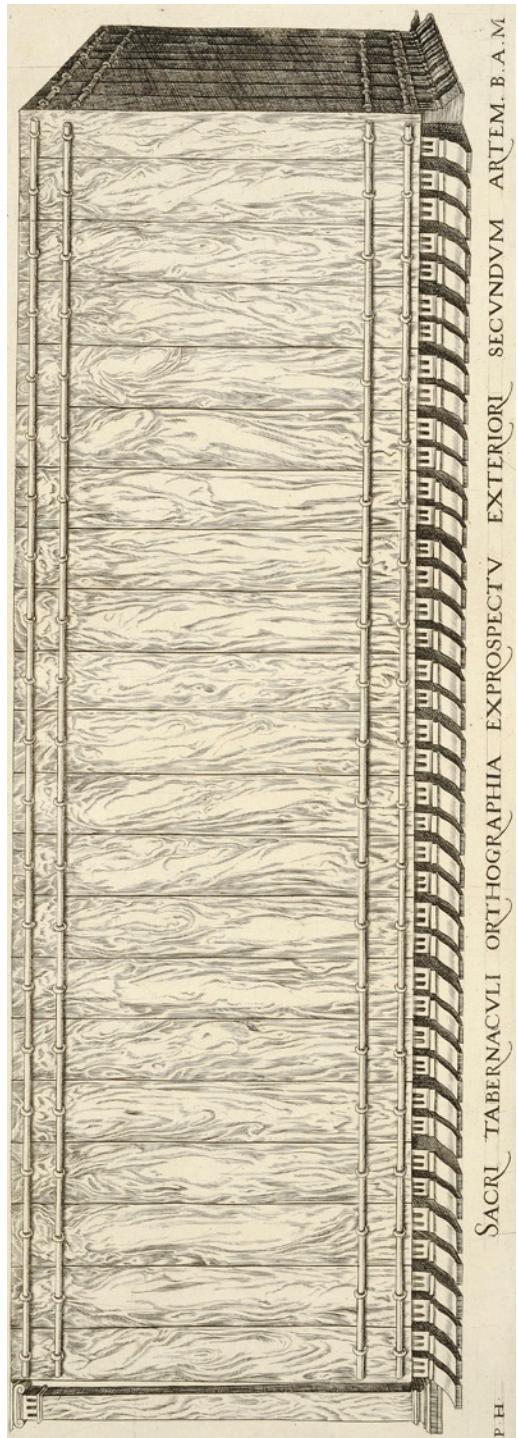
FIGURE 8.5 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi exteriori", in Arias Montano (ed.), Biblia Sacra [...] (Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 28". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*
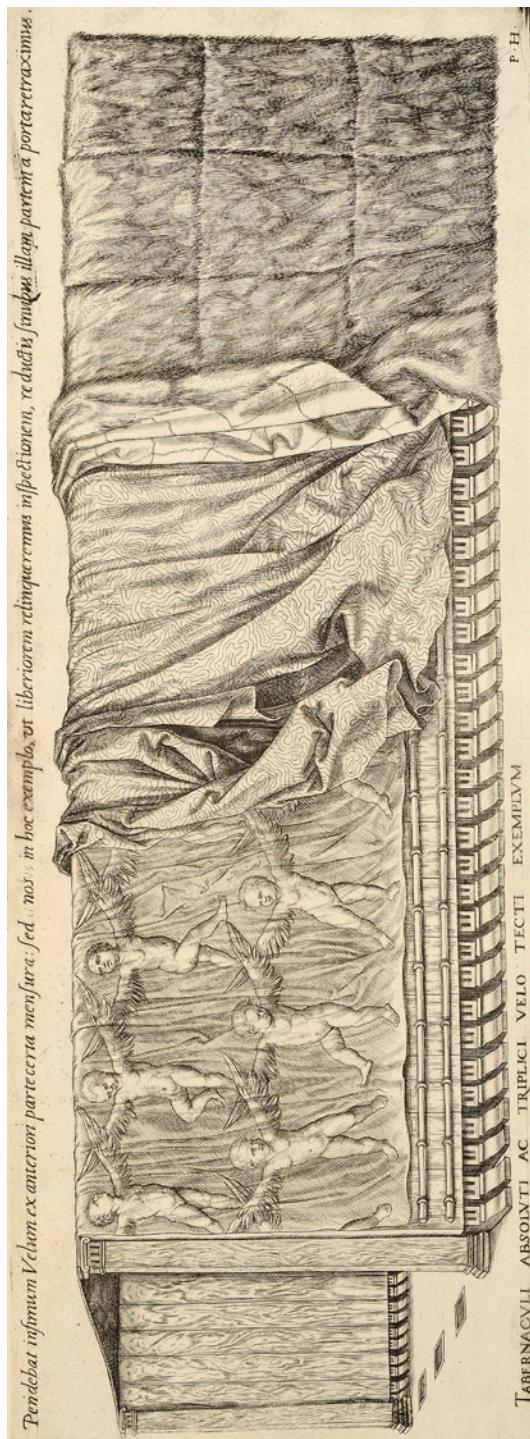
FIGURE 8.6 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi absoluti", in Arias Montano (ed.),* Biblia Sacra [...] *(Antwerp, Plantin: 1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 30". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*

for the presence of the Holy King [...] sanctify your heart and soul as well as (all the) limbs of your body' [66:27]. This living temple imagery is echoed in Habbakuk 2:11: 'For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the timber that is between the joints of building, shall answer'. Old Testament language associated with living architecture presents a typology for Paul's observation that the body of the Christian is a member of Christ and 'a temple of the holy spirit' [2 Corinthians 6:16]. Montano was criticized for consulting rabbinical sources, but defended his actions in his quest for the most authentic interpretations of Hebrew scripture. The old men in the wood beams present a metaphor for the old law as manifest in the Hebrew language. The mystery of God's unseen presence is hidden in the arcane Hebrew, but revealed in the tabernacle plan by negative space delimited by the manmade structural surround. The tabernacle building as *manufactum* (manmade) is emphasized by the 'sketchy' appearance of the old men. These contrast sharply with the corpus in the ark, the *non manufactum* (not made by human hands), which is strongly focused and detailed. Pliny remarked that the artist's hand is most evident in his unfinished or sketchy works, which can be compared to preliminary drawings: 'It is an unusual and memorable fact that the last works of artists and their unfinished pictures [...] are more admired than those which they finished, because in them are seen the preliminary drawings left visible and the artists' actual thoughts'.[18] As Richard Spear points out, sketchy or painterly brushwork also draws attention to praxis, and 'is the antithesis of the consummate finish of the most "divine" of all possible images, *acheiropoetoi*'.[19]

The contrast between finely finished works, *diligente*, and loose, painterly techniques, *manieroso*, was a topic at the center of artistic debate circa 1570, the period in which the Antwerp Polyglot Bible was published. Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) criticized the loose manner of painting, then in vogue, which he referred to as 'crude', as contrasted with the 'divine':

> Certainly (Titian's) way of procedure in these last works differs greatly from that of his youth, for the early works are executed with a certain refinement and an incredible industry so that they can be seen at close quarters and from afar, while his last ones are executed with crudely daubed strokes and blobs in such a way that one sees nothing at close quarters, though they look perfect from a distance. That was the reason

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18   Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXXV.XL.143–146.

19   Spear R. E., "Di Sua Mano", in Gazda E. K. (ed.), *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (Ann Arbor: 2002) 89.

why many who wanted to imitate him in this to show themselves practiced masters have made crude paintings.[20]

In the tabernacle beams, the presence of the old men is hidden but also apparent. They suggest random images, or *pareidolia*, which one is meant to discern for oneself in the natural fiber of the wood.[21] Leonardo da Vinci associated this activity with artistic invention. On this 'new kind of speculative invention', Leonardo wrote: 'By looking at old and smeared walls, or stones and veined marble of various colors, you may fancy that you see in them several compositions, landscapes, battles, figures in quick motion, strange countenances and dresses, with an infinity of other objects [...]'.[22] Paradoxically, the Polyglot's 'random' images of old men, found in naturally derived wood grain, become artifice as a result of an optical mandate which requires the human viewer to perceive the beams from a fixed point on the ground. In the aerial view of the tabernacle, the wood grain is shown, but the tops of heads are not seen. In the elevations, however, the figures are clearly present. These figures are not the inspiration for human invention (per Leonardo), but the result of human intervention based on a divine pattern. In "Exemplar", Montano explains that no man can acquire the true knowledge which is concealed, lying hidden, in the divine structure of the images (*artificiosa*).

The complicated relationship between model and image, *manufactum* and *non manufactum*, is emphasized by the very technique used to make the Polyglot illustrations—engraving. Copperplate engraving is a physically laborious art that relies on manual strength and dexterity, and later sixteenth-century engravers such as Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) literally promoted 'the hand' of the engraver. Ironically, the ark and tabernacle plates were engraved by the *formschneider* Pieter Huys (1519–1584) after patterns designed by an unknown creator. Notions of nature versus artifice dominated late sixteenth century thought, and were manifest, for example, in the elite *wunderkammer* culture. Joris Hoefnagel's widely circulated *Archetypa*, published in 1592, was intended to 'locate human activities in relation to nature, or rather in regard to God's

20   Vasari G., *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence: 1885) VII 452.

21   For more on this phenomenon in Renaissance art, see Gombrich E. H., *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: 1969) 181–202; for the role of perception, see Gamboni D., *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art* (London: 2002).

22   Vinci L. da, "Invention, or Composition", in Riguad J. F. (ed.), *A Treatise on Painting* (London: 1802) 84.

eternal presence as manifested through his work as the supreme artisan of all natural forms'.[23] Philip had a voluminous collection of curiosities, *naturalia*, and antiquities, as well as a famously large collection of relics.[24]

The *Tabernaculi exteriori* [Fig. 8.5] shows the complete tabernacle without its soft coverings, built according to the exact specifications, the 'pattern', God showed to Moses [Exodus 25:9]. The old men in the wood planks are seen here as well [Fig. 8.7]. The figures are shown in a range of positions—profile, frontal, and three-quarter view. Each beam has a double base support that mimics a pair of anthropomorphic feet. The feet are positioned at different angles, pointing different directions, like errant children 'tossed to and fro'. The feet relate to the bodies, which head in various directions. The physicality of the animated boards, activated by their 'crude' appearance, postures and feet, contrast with the still, submissive corpus of Christ, pictured in crisp focus. Gilles Deleuze has argued: 'The copy is an image endowed with resemblance, the *simulacrum* is an image without resemblance. The catechism, so much inspired by Platonism, has familiarized us with this notion. God made man in his image and resemblance. Through sin, however, man lost his resemblance while maintaining the image. We have become *simulacra*'.[25] Here, the old law (associated with the sin of Adam), personified by the rough outlines of old men, is subverted by the new law, which is the exemplar, the infant Church, the body of Christ.

The *Tabernaculi absoluti* shows the completed tabernacle with its multiple textile and skin coverings [Fig. 8.6]. These draperies are pulled back in part so that the viewer can admire the detail in which they were rendered. The woven and stitched layers are shown here as they are described in Exodus 26: twisted linen, blue, purple and scarlet stuff with 'worked' images of cherubim, and drapery made of goat's hair. The skins are patched together, and one can see the stitch marks on the backside, which has been folded outward toward the viewer. Notions of artifice are emphasized by the multiple layers of sewn and worked drapery, further enhanced by the virtuosic handling of the engraver's

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23   See Kemp M., " 'Wrought by No Artist's Hand': The Natural, the Artificial, the Exotic, and the Scientific in Some Artifacts from the Renaissance", in Farago C. (ed.), *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650* (New Haven – London: 1995) 177–196.

24   Lazure G., "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial", *Renaissance Quarterly* 60,1 (2007) 58–93.

25   Deleuze G., "The Simulacrum and Ancient Philosophy", in Boundas C. V. (ed.), *The Logic of Sense* (New York: 1990) 257; see also Baudrillard J., *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings*, ed. M. Poster – trans. J. Mourrain et al. (Stanford: 1988) 166–185 ("Simulacra and Simulations"); and Camille M., "Simulacrum", in Nelson R. S. – Shiff R. (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago – London: 1996) 31–44.
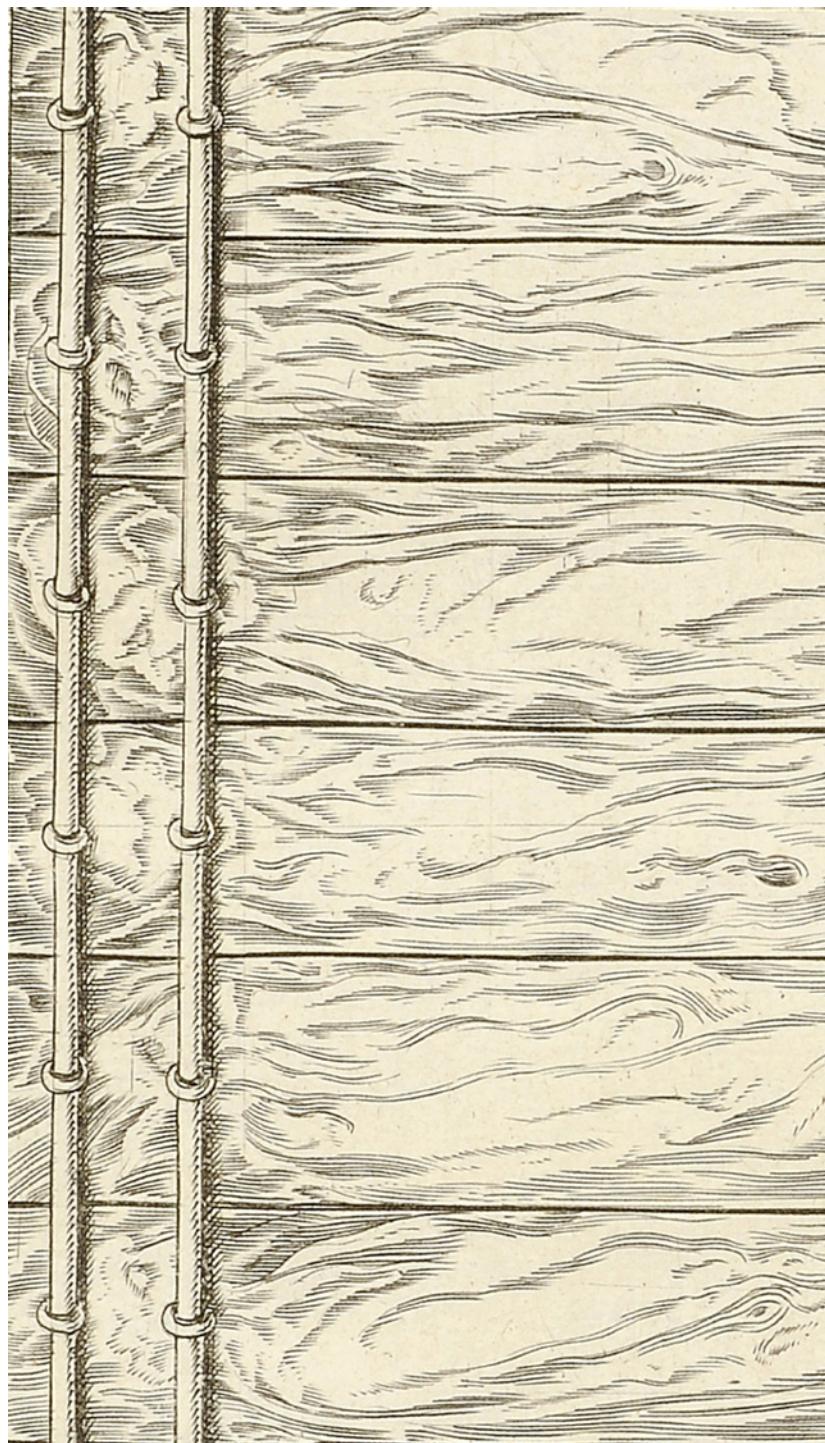
FIGURE 8.7 *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, faces in wood grain, detail from engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi exteriori", in Arias Montano (ed.), Biblia Sacra [...] (Antwerp, Plantin:1572) volume VIII, "Exemplar 28". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*

line. One is able to see a detail of the wood-plank figures on the inside view to the left [Fig. 8.8]. The clearly articulated figures of the cherubim present an additional contrast to the warped beam figures with whom the heavenly creatures are juxtaposed. In a revealing/concealing way, the manmade edifice and drapery encloses the beauty of the true presence of God. Only the high priest can enter the sanctuary. Thus, 'true knowledge which is concealed, lying hidden, in the divine structure of the images' is revealed to the Christian, who, according to ecclesiastical tradition, is baptized priest, prophet and king.

Architectural renderings of the tabernacle are a common feature in earlier bible editions of the period. The ark, tabernacle, and temple illustrations in the Polyglot can be associated, for example, with woodcuts used to illustrate Robert Estienne's Latin bible of 1540. The prototypes for these often repeated bible illustrations were ultimately derived from the *Postilla litteralis super totam bibliam* of Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349).[26] Nicolas was a Franciscan cleric and Hebraist who popularized the earliest-known exegetical illustrations of this kind in bibles. Just as Montano would do 200 years later, Nicolas consulted rabbinical literature including the Rashi (1040–1105). Nicolas promoted a literalist reading of scripture, and his *Postilla* had an important impact on Reformed theologians including Martin Luther. Estienne's illustrations were taken from this earlier *Postilla* tradition, but adapted by interpretations from his contemporary, the Hebraist Francois Vatable (d. 1547). The Estienne-Vatable illustrations became standardized as bible illustrations and were widely copied.[27]

The Polyglot's illustrations borrowed from this tradition, but made alterations to suit the unique ideology of the royal project. Montano describes the threat to Christian unity in which the 'depraved interpretation' of biblical texts was conceived 'by the power of which (the devil) corrupted many ingenious and judicious minds, destroyed innumerable souls, and miserably disordered the Christian Republic'.[28] Montano gives an impassioned description of this

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26   See Cahn W., "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision in the Postilla litteralis of Nicholas of Lyra", in Kogman-Appel K. – Meyer M. (eds.), *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, (Leiden: 2009) 155–167; see also Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist* 41–41; and Bowen – Imhof, "Royal Polyglot" 93–98.

27   See Bowen – Imhof, "Royal Polyglot" 94; Mortimer R., *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts: Part I, French 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1964) I, no. 68; Armstrong E., *Robert Estienne Royal Printer* (Cambridge: 1954) 72–75.

28   Montano, *Biblia Sacra* I, fol. 12r: 'Inprimis enim divinarum literarum auctoritatem & dignitatem commendatam, atque humanae sapientiae, prudentiae, & judicio omni (ut par erat) praelatam: postea perversarum interpretationum & depravationum exitiali veneno
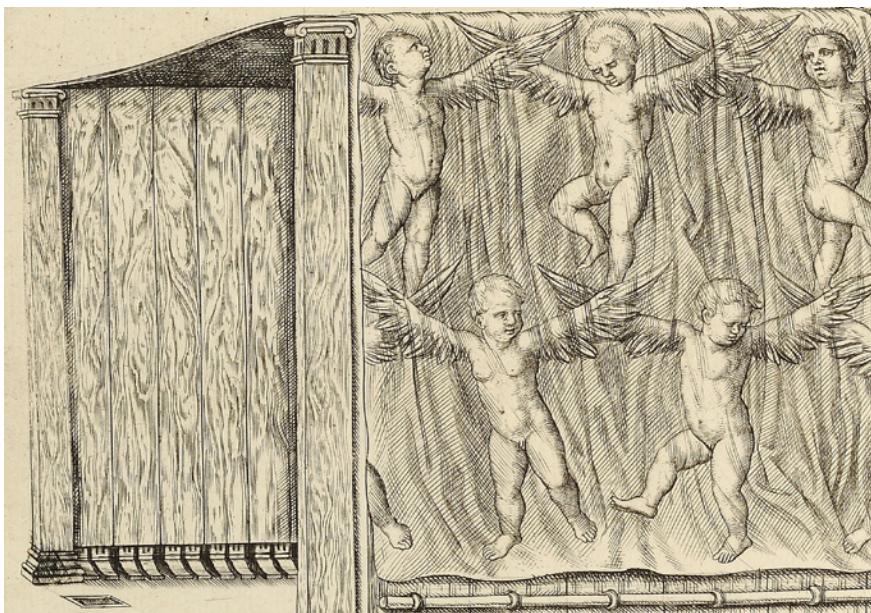
FIGURE 8.8   *Pieter Huys after an unknown artist, figures in wood grain, detail from engraved illustration attributed to Benito Arias Montano, "Tabernaculi absoluti", in Arias Montano (ed.),* Biblia Sacra [...] (*Antwerp, Plantin: 1572*) *volume VIII, "Exemplar 30". Photo Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*

concern in the *Praefatio* of the Antwerp Polyglot, and says that no age in the memory of man had been so miserable and turbulent—this because Christian Europeans are drawn into error and alienated from the Roman Church. As a result, Montano explains, one sees hatred, discord and many factions, like the nations of the past, scattered in different directions with divided families.[29]

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inspersit; cuius vi plurimorum hominum ingenia & judicia corrupit, innumerabilesque perdidit animas, ac denique Christianam misere perturbavit Rempublicam'.

29   Montano, *Biblia Sacra* I, fol. 11r: 'Nulla vero post hominum memoriam praeteritorum temporum aetate. majorem & nocentiorem hominum animis zizaniorum copiam. in hoc veritatis & sapientiae aruo, malignus ille spiritus disseminasse deprehenditur, quam miserrima & turbulentissima hac tempestate, cum maximam totius Europae Christianorum partem, variis & grauibus erroribus ductam. atque ab Ecclessiae Romanae omnium catholicorum & legitimorum ministrorum capitis communi obseruantia abalienatam. odiis, dissidiis, pluribusque fectis & factionibus, quam linguis olim gentes apud famosam illam Baylonem distinctae, dissipatae & in varia familias, atque adeo in varia studia diductae fuisse leguntur, misere distraxerit. & tandem seditionibus pene

Philip's Polyglot was intended to remedy this Protestant threat. To counter the devil and his agents Montano tells the reader:

> God inspired Philip II, the Catholic King of Spain, the most powerful prince, with earnest Christian piety for the good of our holy Church and the whole Republic to consider how the sacred books, ancient languages, and best translations might diligently be gathered and composed for the common welfare and tranquility of the many nations divinely given to him and most faithfully received the pursuit of piety and pure religion is acknowledged to be the principal, greatest and strongest foundation for the establishment of the state.[30]

Philip's rebellious dominions can be associated with the wood beam figures, those that required geographic assimilation into the true faith, the body of Christ. Paul validated this concern:

> But before the faith came, we were kept under the law shut up, unto that faith which was to be revealed. Wherefore the law was our pedagogue in Christ […] but after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue. For you are all the children of God by faith, in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus [Galatians 3:23–28].

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euerterit. ex quo quidem loco ac tempore tot tantasque discordias, contentiones, ac teterrima bella orta, & diutius, quam par esset, in orbe terrarum grassata esse existimamus'.

30   Montano, *Biblia Sacra* I, folio 14v: 'Deus, (hodierno die etiam effecit, ne res tanti ponderis ac momenti ab illo malorum omnium auctore, illiusque ministris, in id, quod expectari ac timeri poterat, diserimen, adduceretur;) eamque mentem Philippo II Catholico Hispaniarum Regi, & Principi potentissimo, & Christianae pietatis studiosissimo, (iniecit, ut inter quamplurima consilia, quae pietatis, & divini cultus,) publicae utilitatis sacrosanctae Ecclesiae, ac denique totius Reipubl. (Christianae gratia, ab ipso prudentissime inita, fortissime suscepta,) felicissimeque sunt peracta, de sacris etiam libris, antiquis linguis, & earum optimis interpretationibus, qua fieri potest diligentia, (inter se collatis, excudendis, is etia deliberaret;) utpote cui inter plurimas ad commune salutem, & tranquillitate multarum gentium, & nationum a se gubernandarum divinitus datas, & fidelissime susceptas curas, unum pietatis ac religionis purae studium, praecipuum, & maximum, atque ad omnem publicam rem stabiliendam firmissimum fundamentum esse constat'.

Philip's empire in 1581 was the first in the history of the world upon which the sun never set. It included Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; most of the Italian peninsula, Milan, Sicily and Sardinia; Tangier, Guinea, Angola, Mombasa, and Mozambique in Africa; Estado da India, Malacca, and Moluccas in the east, and Mexico, Florida, the Antilles, Peru and Brazil in the New World. He was also the titular King of Jerusalem, an honorary title that carried no real authority, but it was an ancient titulus Philip promoted. In 1581 Philip acquired the throne of Portugal, thus linking the two great monarchies of the Iberian Peninsula. A triumphal arch marking Philip's glorious entry into Lisbon the same year read: 'The world, which was divided between your great-grandfather King Ferdinand the Catholic and your grandfather King Manuel of Portugal, is now linked into one, since you are lord of everything in the East and West'.[31] To mark the union of the crowns, a new gilded bronze medal (Portugal Numismatic Museum, Lisbon, 1583) was cast which depicts a portrait bust of Philip on one side, and a globe mounted by a horse on the other, with the motto *non sufficit orbis*: 'the world is not enough'.

Philip welcomed the notion of a universal monarchy, and in 1586, the motto and globe were incorporated into the royal arms of Spain. Philip's geopolitical worldview was challenged by developments in the sixteenth century, the most dangerous being the religious divisions of Europe. Aggressive religious nationalism was Philip's solution. To this end Philip mapped his empire, commissioning several major cartography projects. Netherlandish artist Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525–1571) was hired to construct a series of chorographic views (Austrian National Library, 1563) of all the major Spanish cities. Van den Wyngaerde's perspectives, composites of actual views, are shown from a slight elevation, and employ a panoramic format.[32] That they were realistic depictions of *actual* dominions demonstrated Philip's *actual* power, and he translated these chorographic views into large map rooms at the Escorial. Another geographical enterprise, the *Relaciones geográficas* (1578–1584) consisted of government questionnaires concerning geography, populations, and antiquities, which were to be sent to every town in Spain and the New World. These questionnaires were associated with surveys in preparation for a new map of the New World.[33] While the questionnaire project was underway, Philip also

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31   Parker G., *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven – London: 1989) 4–5.

32   See Parker G., "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Hapsburgs", in Buisseret D. (ed.), *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartograpy as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago – London: 1992) 129–130.

33   For more on this see Mundy B. E., *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográphicas* (Chicago – London: 2000) 11–27.

sponsored a map of Spain (Library of the Monastery of El Escorial, 1585) from his principle cartographer Pedro de Esquivel, an expert surveyor and professor of mathematics at the University of Alcalá de Henares. Philip wanted both the Van den Wyngaerde's chorographic cityscapes and Esquivel's geographic maps to be viewed side-by-side in order to demonstrate Spain's 'two natures'. According to contemporary thought on God's privileged view from above: 'the space of the nation was not pictured as autonomous and competitive cities, but as a continuous and politically undifferentiated geographic expanse'.[34] Thus the body of the nation outlined on a geographic map suggests the body of the king, as the nation is the king's creation, in all its cultural diversity, and is held together by his person, his inheritances, his administration and his conquests.[35]

The chorographic-geographic modality employed in the Polyglot's architectural imagery can be associated with Philip's desire to promote Spain as the new Holy Land, with Madrid as the navel, and the Escorial, its towering umbilicus.[36] This play of spatial relationships as a tool in Philip's geopolitical schema was demonstrated in 1561, when he moved his capital to Madrid, which is situated in the geographical center of Spain. The Polyglot's double-hemispheric world map, the centerfold and showpiece of volume eight, ties Montano's ethnography of the ancient Hebrews to the contemporary Spanish empire—each of Philip's dominions was quite literally *on the map*. Philip sought religious hegemony among his diverse populations, and attempted to use the Church and salvation history as a unifying model. Providing an updated, authoritative, multi-language bible edition supported Philip's purpose. The beam figures, as 'crude images' of the divine exemplar, personify the old law and sinful men who are 'carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive'. These rebellious nations are to put on the 'new man', and be incorporated into the Church, who is the body of Christ. Montano promised that the Polyglot would bring great glory to Philip's name, esteem and reputation throughout the world—remaining so for many centuries—by Latins, Greeks, Syrians, and all Jews, 'who would appreciate the great majesty and benefit of this work'.[37] For Philip, King of

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34   For the body of the nation and Spain's 'two natures' see Mundy, *New Spain* 3–7.

35   For the relationship between maps and state identity, see Kagan R. L. – Schmidt B., "Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography", in Woodward D. (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3, Part 1 (Chicago – London: 2007) 661–679.

36   See Edgerton S. Y., "From Mental Matrix to Mappamundi to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance", in Woodward D. (ed.), *Art and Cartography* (Chicago – London: 1987) 48–50.

37   Montano, MS Stockholm A 902, letter to Philip dated 1567 in support of the Polyglot project: 'Demás del servicio de Dios y provecho de la Yglesia universal, resulta también de aquí una gran gloria al real nombre de Su Magestad y a la estimación y reputación de

Jerusalem, the living tabernacle of the old law would have special resonance in relation to his understanding of the living body of Christ, particularly as reflected in the Polyglot scriptural text: 'And he who sat on the throne said, "Behold, I make all things new" ' [Revelation 21:5].

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su persona, la qual se estenderá por todo el mundo, y permanescerá por muchos siglos, porque este libro será comprado de christianos latinos, y de christianos griegos, y de christianos syros, que entienden las lenguas hebrea y chaldea y syriaca, y de todos los hebreos, que se han de afficionar a la magestad y gran provecho de la obra'. Many thanks go to Matthew D. Karl for his research assistance.

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A New Heraldry: Vision and Rhetoric in the *Carrara Herbal*

Sarah R. Kyle

Near the end of his turbulent rule of Padua, the city's last prince, Francesco II 'il Novello' da Carrara (r. 1390–1405), commissioned a remarkable illustrated manuscript for his personal library. Known in contemporary scholarship as the *Carrara Herbal*, the book contains a vernacular translation of Serapion the Younger's thirteenth-century treatise on plant and animal medicines, the *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*.[1] Serapion's text is accompanied by over fifty illustrations of plants executed in gouache on vellum by an anonymous artist. Historically, scholarship on the *Herbal* has focused on the plant imagery's verisimilar qualities as early examples of the realistic representation associated with the idea of Renaissance.[2] Several of the plants in the *Herbal* appear to be drawn from observation of natural specimens, and these realistic plant images are unique among contemporaneous illustrated pharmacopeias. The emphasis on empirically based observation may anticipate the scientific accuracy of illustrations in later books on plant medicine; however, focusing on this characteristic to the exclusion of other illustrative and textual elements of the book fails to account for the late fourteenth-century reader's interpretive framework. This framework is as informed by notions of kinship, rhetoric, and memory in circulation in Padua as it is by notions of pictorial realism.

On the one hand, when opening the book the reader immediately encounters the prominent placement of family heraldry on the frontispiece. The family's heraldic arms, individual crests, and personal badges are all present,

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1   *Il Libro agregà de Serapion* (*The Collected Book of Simple Medicine*), The British Library, MS Egerton 2020. Based on an analysis of Serapion's use of sources, Manfred Ullmann dates Serapion's original text to between 1242 and 1248 (*Die Medizin im Islam* [Leiden: 1970] 283–4). For a transcription and linguistic analysis of the translation of Serapion's text in the *Carrara Herbal*, see Ineichen, G., *El libro agregà de Serapiom, volgarizzamento di Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua*, 2 vols. (Venice – Rome: 1962–66).

2   Pächt O., "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950) 13–47; Baumann F., *Das Erbario Carrarese und die Bildtradition des Tractatus de Herbis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pflanzendarstellung im Übergang von Spätmittelalter zur Frührenaissance* (Bern: 1974); Collins M., *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (Toronto: 2000).

FIGURE 9.1 *North Italian, Frontispiece of the* Carrara Herbal (*ca. 1390–1405*). *Gouache on vellum, 237mm × 353mm. The British Library, ms Egerton 2020 fol. 4r. Image © The British Library.*

which locates the book and its contents firmly within the Carrara family patrimony [Fig. 9.1]. On the other hand, the plant illustration in the *Herbal* is deliberately varied—it ranges in style from the extraordinarily lifelike to the conventionally schematic to many combinations of the two. Scholarship on the *Herbal* has not addressed the commingling of styles in its illustration, nor the idea that this commingling was a deliberate part of the book's design. Viewed in conjunction with the prominent heraldry on the frontispiece, this design dynamic mimics the relationship between the forms of heraldry and their owners, in which a symbolic, unreal image serves as a metaphor for a specific, real individual or family. Doing so, it calls for the reader to consider the book's illustrations in the context of the familial signs.

Heraldry served several functions for the Carrara. It was a marker of possession, a declaration of personal interests or characteristics, and a way to establish community and to trace family history and genealogy. Visual and written evidence show that the Carrara emblazoned representations of their heraldry on their clothing and armor, and included it in the decorative programs of their family palaces and on strategic pieces of civic architecture, such as the gates to the communal palace's church.[3] Family heraldry also appears in conjunction with visual representations and written descriptions of the Carrara princes in the local chronicles and family histories collected by Francesco Novello for his library, creating a sense of connectedness between the books in his collection.[4]

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3 The Notary Guild's records for September 30, 1337, describe the painting of Carrara heraldry onto the walls and gates of the communal palace's church. See Cessi, R., Padova Medioevale: studi e documenti, ed. D. Gallo, 2 vols (Padua: 1985) I 145, n. 19, and Kohl, B., Padua Under the Carrara, 1318–1405 (Baltimore: 1998) 68. Are scattered throughout the *Cronaca Carrarese* and other local histories. See Gatari G., *Cronaca Carrarese*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, N.S. 17, 1, eds. A. Medin – G. Tolomei (Città di Castello: 1909–31). For eyewitness accounts of the decoration of the Carrara palace, see Michiel M., *Der Anonimo Morelliano. Marcantonio Michiel's* Notizia d'opere del disegno, ed. T. von Frimmel (Graeser: 1888), and Savonarola M., *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, N.S. 24, 15, ed. A. Segarizzi (Città di Castello: 1902).

4 A partial inventory of Francesco Novello's collection documents the titles in his possession as well as the heraldry and other identifying signs in his books. Francesco Zago, an administrator for the Carrara, inventoried fifty-seven manuscripts on May 9, 1404 (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, c. 147 Lat. XIV 93). In the successive months four more volumes were registered on the list. See Bettini S., "Le miniature del '*Libro agregà de Serapion*' nella cultura artistica del tardo Trecento", in Grossato L. (ed.), *Da Giotto a Mantegna* (Milan: 1974) 55, and Lazzarini V., "Libri di Francesco Novello da Carrara", *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 18 (1901–1902) 26. Book loans recorded on the reverse of the folio suggest that Francesco's collection, like that of his father, circulated at court as a vector for self-promotion.

Considered in relationship to the family heraldry, the illustrations in the *Herbal* refer less to other illustrated herbals and more to the Carrara family's focus on establishing a message of genealogical continuity and kinship identity, a message emphasized through both illustration and subject matter in Francesco Novello's book collection. The formal, visual devices employed in the illustrations of the *Carrara Herbal* communicate across the literary genres and modes of portraiture represented in Francesco's other books, knitting the collection into a cohesive whole that celebrates Francesco and his family in words and images. The visual devices parallel the figurative language in the books, language that describes the history, characters, and physical features of the Carrara by comparing or juxtaposing the family members with their heraldry.

The descriptive language used in the biographies and chronicles in Francesco's collection demonstrates the use of rhetorical conventions popular in contemporary oratory. It is rife with detailed descriptions and metaphors premised on visual comparisons, lending it appropriateness in an analysis of how the visual conveys its message.[5] In many instances, the conventions used by these authors depend upon techniques described by the Roman rhetoricians Cicero and Quintilian. For instance, techniques like enargeia (verisimilar description), metaphor (describing something using the traits of something else), and antithesis (the pairing of opposite ideas) are techniques that seek to enliven or energize words or descriptions better to captivate, persuade, and unite an audience. They are also techniques useful to understanding how visual representations, and heraldic devices in particular, communicate their messages.[6]

Analyzed in the context of contemporary rhetorical practice, the illustrations in the *Carrara Herbal* serve as a new type of heraldry with metaphorical associations to Francesco's person and character. Especially on the frontispiece, when deliberately positioned alongside other forms of Carrara heraldry, the plant image becomes an anthropomorphic analogy—a symbolic embodiment—of the Carrara prince. It asserts the dynasty's continuity and generative

5   Pier Paolo Vergerio was the first of the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century humanists to revive classical rhetorical devices in oratory. He focused especially on the power of words to create vivid images because, Vergerio argued, sight was the most persuasive of senses. See McManamon J., *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator* (Tempe: 1996), especially chapter five "The Power of the Visible".

6   Eleanor Leach has written about the relationship between the rhetorical and visual arts during the Roman period, and her analysis is useful to understanding humanists, like Vergerio, who sought to revive these techniques in late fourteenth-century oratory and writing. See Leach E., *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton: 1988).

power through its formal and metaphorical associations with heraldry-portrait pairings in Francesco's other illustrated books and across the wider Carrara family patronage.

The frontispiece of the *Herbal* immediately demonstrates the connection between the plant imagery, the family heraldry, and the visualization of rhetorical practice. The juxtaposition of the heraldry with the first plant representation in the *Herbal*, the lemon tree, teaches the reader how to interpret (to 'read') the remaining illustrations. In the illustration of the lemon tree the artist combined verisimilar and schematic techniques, a representational strategy that visually approximates the rhetorical technique of antithesis—the bringing together of opposites in an effort to attract the listeners' (and viewers') attention.[7] The artist truncated and generalized the body of the tree, in accord with more conventional, schematic tree representations in earlier herbal illustration. Yet, he covered the tree with oversized, realistically detailed lemons, easily identified by their ovoid shape, mottled skins, and by the characteristic glossy, lanceolate leaves of the lemon tree. In a manner similar to an orator with his audience, the artist pulls the reader into the illustration by this contrast. Captivated by the difference of styles, the reader more fully engages the image within the overall composition of the page. The lemon tree is the compositional center, and it is framed by a border of acanthus-like foliage adorned with gold, into which several varieties of Carrara heraldry and Francesco Novello's initials are woven.

Three depictions of the Carrara family's heraldic arms, the red *carro*, or 'cart'—a play on the family name 'Carrara'—appear in the upper and flanking margins of the frontispiece.[8] Two large, gold 'Fs' set against a dark background complement the heraldic arms from the upper right and left corners. These initials identify the codex as Francesco Novello's possession and suggest a tribute to Francesco's father and namesake, Francesco I 'il Vecchio' da Carrara (r. 1350–88), from whom he inherited his shield of arms (*cimiero*) portrayed in

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7 For definitions of how visual devices approximate rhetorical ones, see Eck C. van, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007). On antithesis in particular, 22.

8 For all heraldic vocabulary and descriptions see Boulton D'A. J. D., "Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, ca. 1350–1500", in Rosenberg C. (ed.), *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500* (London – Notre Dame: 1990) 103–127. Boulton outlines three types of heraldry used by the Italian princes: 1) the oldest form of arms, heraldic arms (*stemma*), is a design that covers the whole surface of a shield; 2) the shield of arms (*cimiero*), is a helm bearing a crest at its apex; 3) the badge or device is a symbolic design adopted by a specific individual.

the lower left corner.[9] The shield of the elder Francesco consists of a winged, golden-horned Saracen robed in red and gold and perched atop a black helm, which in turn rests upon the *carro* of the family arms.[10] The shield that mirrors the intergenerational *cimiero* from the lower exterior margin is Francesco Novello's personal addition to the family arms. Described by Galeazzo Gatari in the *Cronaca Carrarese* (c. 1355–1406), Francesco Novello's *cimiero* consists of a black helm with a white tail, crowned with a large black wing, feathers highlighted in gold, all set against a brilliant red background.[11] Finally, two of Francesco's personal devices, or badges, rest between the shields of arms on the lower margin and flank the trunk of the lemon tree. In the device closest to Francesco il Vecchio's shield of arms, a hand stretches out of a bell-shaped sleeve and holds an armillary sphere against a dark blue background framed in gold. The device closest to Francesco Novello's personal shield of arms on the opposite side of the lemon tree shows a blue sphere with a white center that encases a gold cross. Inscribed around the center sphere, one of Francesco's mottos reads: *pour moy auxi* ('for me as well').[12]

Personal heraldic devices, or badges, are usually symbolic designs, often plants or animals, accompanied by a motto that explains the design's significance.[13] Lined up with two of Francesco Novello's other personal devices and two family *cimieri* in the lower margin, the lemon tree itself appears as a type of badge. The composition of the frontispiece encourages this association: just as the personal devices and family shields are encircled in bright colors and gold and set off against a solid ground, so the lemon tree

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9   See Mariani Canova G., "Serapion il Giovane, *Liber Agregà*, No. 54", in Mariani Canova G. – Baldissini Molli G. – Toniolo F. (eds.), *La Miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento* (Modena: 1999) 154.

10   Francesco il Vecchio assumed the Saracen crest from Ubertino da Carrara (r. 1338–45), his first cousin once removed and the third Carrara prince of Padua, rather than the shield of arms of his assassinated father, Giacomo II da Carrara (r. 1345–50).

11   According to Galeazzo Gatari's *Cronaca Carrarese*, Francesco Novello gave a pennant bearing this crest to Piero da Cortaruollo to carry into battle. Gatari describes the pennant as 'all-over red with the *cimiero* of the wing and with the *carro* shield' ('ch'erra tuta rossa col cimiero da l'alla e con la targha dal carro'). See Gatari, *Cronaca* 536–537 (fols. 327v–328r). My translation.

12   While the second emblem is damaged on the frontispiece to the section of Serapion's treatise on plant medicines, its details are much clearer in the representation on the title page for the section on medicine derived from animals (fol. 267r). See Baumann, *Das Erbario* 95–97. These two devices also appear on the coins and medals that Francesco Novello had minted during his reign (Mariani Canova, "Serapion il Giovane" 154). In the same passage describing the war pennants, Gatari also recorded that one of Francesco Novello's standards depicted celestial worlds ('mondi d'oro'). See Gatari, *Cronaca* 536–537.

13   Boulton, "Insignia" 106.

is set against the plain vellum and surrounded by a brilliantly colored border accented with gold. As a new personal heraldic device, the lemon tree shapes the perception of the remaining imagery in the codex. The pictures function as a type of heraldry through which a reader might mentally connect an image to a real object—not to the plant represented, per se, but to the Carrara prince.

The lemon tree's proximity to Francesco's other heraldry and its stylistic and compositional approximation of heraldry recall representations of heraldry in other Carrara commissions, particularly in two of the illustrated family histories commissioned by Francesco Novello: Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* and Lazzaro de' Malrotondi da Conegliano's *Liber cimieriorum dominorum de Carraria*.[14] In the words and images of both these books, portraits of the Carrara princes are aligned with their heraldic signs. In the *Carrara Herbal*, the lemon tree's central placement next to many of the family's heraldic signs mirrors the placement in these other manuscripts of a visual or written portrait of the prince himself. This compositional congruity further draws the *Herbal* into conversation with the family biographies.

Pier Paolo Vergerio, humanist and teacher of Francesco Novello's children, wrote the *Liber de principibus*. It contains celebratory biographies of the six Carrara princes preceding Francesco il Vecchio and the biography of the elder Francesco's exiled grandfather Niccolò da Carrara. As a biographer, Vergerio adopted Suetonius' model, a model Petrarch also employed in his biographies of famous Romans, *De viris illustribus vitae*.[15] Each of Vergerio's biographies is preceded by a page completely dedicated to a full-length profile portrait of the corresponding prince, executed in monochromatic grey-scale (a technique known as grisaille), with his shield of arms portrayed overhead [Fig. 9.2]. The princes' portraits are likely copies drawn from an earlier series of monumental grisaille portraits commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio from Altichiero for the

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14 *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* (*The Book of the Carrara Princes and Their Deeds*, Biblioteca Civica di Padova, B.P. 158, ca. 1402) is almost certainly the *Libro de li nomi de li magnifici segnore da Carrara* on Zago's list. The *Liber cimieriorum dominorum de Carraria* (*The Book of the Carrara Lords' Cimieri*, Biblioteca Civica di Padova, B.P. 124/ XXII, ca. 1390s) is listed under the same title on Zago's register. See Lazzarini, "Libri" 31.

15 Kohl B., "Chronicles into Legends and Lives: Two Humanist Accounts of the Carrara Dynasty in Padua", in Dale S. – Williams Lewin A. – Osheim D. (eds.), *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park: 2007) 232. In their texts on the lives of famous men (both historical and contemporary), Suetonius, Petrarch, and Vergerio follow the same format. They give a description of the man's parents and his birth, followed by accounts of his career, marriage and family, and his death. Each life closes with a vivid description of the subject's character and physical appearance.

FIGURE 9.2 *After Altichiero* (?), *Portrait of Giacomo I da Carrara*, Liber de Principibus
Carrariensibus (*ca. 1402*). *Grisaille and pen on vellum, 342mm × 248mm.
Biblioteca Civica di Padova, ms b.p. 158 fol. 4v. Image © Biblioteca Civica di
Padova.*

pozuolo, or loggia, of the family palace. Although the fresco cycle is now lost, its appearance is recorded in a sixteenth-century description of the palace.[16]

Grammarian Lazzaro de' Malrotondi's *Liber cimeriorum* recounts the history of the family and describes the princes' persons and characters in verse by means of analogy to their shields of arms (*cimieri*). A small, luxury codex, the *Liber cimeriorum* contains colorful illustrations of each of the princes' shield of arms enclosed in a golden quatrefoil frame. The representations of the *cimieri* are placed directly beneath a transcription of the corresponding prince's epitaph, as originally recorded in the *Cronaca Carrarese*, penned in gold [Fig. 9.3].[17] The motif of the *cimieri* in quatrefoil frames imitates the heraldry portrayed in two halls in the family's palace, the Camera dei Carri and the Anticamera dei Cimieri.[18] By directly referring to the Carrara portraits and heraldry found in architectural decoration commissioned by his forefathers, the portraits of the princes and their heraldry in Francesco Novello's books further connect his library to the genealogical rhetoric and propagandistic use of heraldry established in the patronage of his ancestors.

Beyond the stylistic and compositional correlations between the books—in which a centralized description in text or image of the prince or his heraldry is juxtaposed with its complementary referent in image or text—the authors' use

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16   Michiel, *Der Anonimo* 34. Art historian John Richards attributes the cycle to the Trecento artist, Altichiero, on account of the techniques shared by the portraits in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus* and the fresco cycles known to have been produced by Altichiero and his workshop for Francesco il Vecchio and his court family. See Richards J., *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge: 2000) 214–15.

17   The *Cronaca* is listed among the books in Francesco's library as the *Libro del chataro* (Accademia Galileiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Archivio Papafava, Cod. 38, ca. 1355–1406). It served as a source for the two other biographies of the Carrara discussed here. The content for the verses in the *Liber cimeriorum*, composed by Lazzaro de' Malrotondi, draws from passages in the *Cronaca* that showcase Carrara heraldry as metaphors for its owner's characters, passages that include the princes' epitaphs. For example, see Ubertino's epitaph recorded in the *Cronaca* I 25. The chronicle was written by Galeazzo Gatari (d. 1405) and his sons Bartolomeo and Andrea, and was a project supported by both Francesco Novello and his father. See Cozzi E., "*Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria*, No. 52" and Granata L., "*Cronaca Carrarese*, No. 56", in Mariani Canova G. – Baldissini Molli G. – Toniolo F. (eds.), *La Miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento* (Modena: 1999) 151 and 159, respectively, and Lazzarini, "Libri" 30.

18   The decoration for these two halls was commissioned by Ubertino da Carrara (r. 1338–45), the third Carrara lord of Padua, in the early 1340s. See Cozzi, "*Liber cimeriorum*" 151 and Mariani Canova G., "La Miniatura Padovano nel Periodo Carrarese", in Spiazzi A. (ed.) *Attorno a Giusto de' Menabuoi: aggiornamenti e studi sulla pittura a Padova nel Trecento: atti della giornata di studio 18 dicembre 1990* (Treviso: 1994) 27–28.

FIGURE 9.3 *North Italian, Arms of Ubertino da Carrara*, Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria (*ca. 1390*). *Color and gold on vellum, 270mm × 200mm. Biblioteca Civica di Padova, ms* B.P. *124/XXII fol. 16r. Image © Biblioteca Civica di Padova.*

of rhetorical devices generates the flow of metaphorical associations between the texts and images. In several ways, the rhetorical devices and the formal devices employed in the textual and visual representations of the princes and their heraldry mirror one another, connecting the texts and the images and strengthening the power of the images to serve as signs for the Carrara themselves.

For the princes' heraldry to stand in for their bodies, their histories, and their characters—that is, for them to become anthropomorphic analogies for the princes—the viewer must be receptive to the association: he or she must be taught to see the heraldic images as something more than just what is shown. Here, the art of rhetoric is useful to understand better how this association is developed and subsequently codified. Lessons drawn from Cicero and Quintilian demonstrate how an unforgettable memory can be forged by linking it to a unique and striking sign, and that a few precise descriptions married to deliberately imprecise ones can engage the listener better than an entirely prescriptive recounting. Both of these ideas—the power of a striking sign and the balance of ill-defined and exacting description—can translate into new ways of understanding Carrara heraldry in general, and the illustrations in the *Carrara Herbal* as a new type of heraldry in particular.

In Book VIII of *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian explains the active role of the spectator in generating meaningful sense from the orator's words. The techniques he discusses that enable this fruitful generation demonstrate the centrality of vision to the orator's art. Quintilian focuses specifically on the role of enargeia—the art of vivid description in words. To encourage the development of a meaningful (and so memorable) understanding of his message, the orator must use just the right amount of enargeia to enliven the scene while allowing for its personalization as filtered through the spectator's imagination and experience. The careful vagueness would lure the audience into the description because, Quintilian argued, each person would naturally want to fill in the gaps with details drawn from his or her imagination, resulting in a complete mental image relevant to the spectator. For Quintilian, the spectator mediated the orator's words with his or her own imaginings, which resulted in a personal visualization of the words and a subsequent construction of meaning from this combination of mental imagery and guiding description.[19]

To illustrate how this technique functions in oratory, Quintilian cites Cicero's description from *Verrines* (5.86) of a Roman praetor and his lover at the beach: ' "There stood the Roman praetor in his slippers, with a purple cloak

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19   Leach, *Rhetoric* 14, 17–18.

and a tunic down to his heels, leaning on one of his women on the beach [...]" '.
Then, Quintilian asks his reader directly:

> Could anyone be so unimaginative as not to feel that he is seeing the persons and the place and the dress, and to add some unspoken details for himself into the bargain? I certainly imagine that I can see the face, the eyes, the disgusting endearments of the pair, and the silent loathing and abashed fear of the bystanders.[20]

For Quintilian, Cicero's calculated use of description asks the listener to make the words meaningful by filling in the details—faces, eyes, the crowd's jealousy and disapproval. He then gives the reader his own experience of Cicero's description, showing the reader exactly what he means by the involvement of the spectator and the use of his imagination to complete a mental image from the description.

In its use of specific rhetorical and visual devices, Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus* realizes Quintilian's understanding of the spectator's active role in the generation of meaning. A humanist and teacher of rhetoric, Vergerio, as Petrarch before him, would have known both the Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the parts of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* available before the complete manuscript was recovered in 1416 by Poggio Bracciolini.[21] Much like Quintilian, one of Vergerio's principal rhetorical strategies as a teacher and orator was to create sights in words, a technique aimed at making the oratory more persuasive and memorable by better engaging the spectators' imaginations.[22] This writing style suggests Vergerio believed that sight was the most persuasive of senses, and he used the descriptive language of seeing to create authority in his speeches and in his writing.[23]

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20   Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. D. Russell, 5 vols. (Cambridge: 2001) 8.3.64–65: 'Plurimum in hoc genere sicut ceteris eminet Cicero: an quisquam tam procul a concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest ut non, cum illa in Verrem legit: "stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in litore", non solum ipsos intueri videatur et locum et habitum, sed quaedam etiam ex iis quae dicta non sunt sibi ipse adstruat? Ego certe mihi cernere videor et vultum et oculos et deformes utriusque blanditias et eorum qui aderant tacitam aversationem ac timidam verecundiam'. Also see Leach, *Rhetoric* 16.

21   Russell D., "General Introduction", in *Quintilian. The Orator's Education*, ed.–trans. D. Russell, 5 vols. (Cambridge: 2001) I 20. On Petrarch's view of Quintilian and the Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*, ibidem 23.

22   McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio* 49.

23   For detailed examples of Vergerio's use of description and its relationship to the spectator's vision, see McManamon's analyses of Vergerio's orations composed in commemoration

For instance, in his biography of the first Carrara prince, Giacomo I 'il Grande' da Carrara (r. 1318–19), Vergerio recounts a story in which Giacomo shows his generosity by giving a cart (his personal sign, the *carro*) full of gifts to an adversary.[24] While serving as legal counsel prior to being elected ruler of Padua, Giacomo was insulted by his opposing counsel. His adversary, a plebeian member of the Commune, took the opportunity to publicly criticize what he perceived as the excessive privileges of the aristocracy, of which Giacomo was a member. After listening to the man's insults, Giacomo walked over and whispered that he planned to cut out the man's tongue. The pleb erupted in anger and fear. Meanwhile, Giacomo went back to his home and ordered a cart laden with grain and a pig be given to the man as a gift. His adversary accepted Giacomo's gift and conceded that Giacomo had indeed 'cut out his tongue' with his kindness.[25]

In his telling, Vergerio memorialized Giacomo's character by tying it to the image of the cart delivering a generous gift. This connection between the cart (*carro*), the generosity of the prince, and Giacomo himself is strengthened by

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of Francesco il Vecchio's death and in honour of Francesco Novello's restoration to power, *De dignissimo funebri apparatus in exequiis clarissimi omnium principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria* and *Ad Franciscum Juniorem de Carraria* ("Oratory and Vision", *Pierpaolo Vergerio* 31–50).

24   McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio* 111 n. 14.

25   Describing Giacomo il Grande, Vergerio writes: 'Nam et in publicis consiliis et in privatis rebus magis factiosus, magisque sollicitus habebatur, atque ideo timebatur magis, quamquam esset minime injurirum ultor, officio malens ad benevolentiam sibi homines conciliare, quam metu subicere. Cujus rei hinc colligi argumentum potest. Nam cum aliquando patrocinium amico laturus ad praetoris venisset tribunal, causmque judicibus commendasset, diversae partis patronus homo plebejus, et potentiae nobilitatis infeususus, quo magis clientulum suum promereretur, omissa causa, cujus de meritis lis erat, liberiore lingua in eum invectus est. Ille vero per summam moderationem ei respondit. Cum uterque discederent, Jacobus, propior illi factus, auri os admovit, et voce suppressa, ut nemo alius exaudire posset: "Linguam tibi", inquit "praecidam". Quo ille audito, ut erat immodicae temeritatis, per summam licentiam multum diuque in eum verbis grassatus est, et abeuntem gravissimis maledictis insectatus. Jacobus vero, cum primum se domum contulit, jubet frumenti quantum capere currus posset, et insuper domesticum suem ligatum ad illum deferri, suoque ei nomine donari. Qui nihil reveritis pro contumelia beneficium accipere, multis gratiis munus prosecutus est, et "Prorsus", inquit, "linguam ille meus dominus mihi praecidit; vere me in perpetuum contra se mutum reddidit". Atque ita in reliquum fuit et virtutum praedicator, et, quantum in se erat, omnium ejus voluntatum minister. In hunc modum vir sapiens, cum nec amicum sibi virtutis merito eum facere posset, et inimicum tollere nollet, aut damno afficere, munere servum paravit'. See Vergerio P., *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum*, ed. A. Gnesotto, *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (*AMAP*) 41 (1924) 350.

the book's illustrations. In *Liber de principibus*, each of the Carrara prince's respective biographies opens with a full-page profile portrait of the prince. The prince has identifiable facial features, wears the long robe associated with his rank, and stands dignified and upright in profile. Each prince is shown with his personal shield of arms above his head accented in red, white, and black, and (with the exception of Niccolò da Carrara) is also shown carrying the rod and the red and white banner of the Commune. In Giacomo il Grande's case, when the reader confronts the portrait of the prince shown beneath his shield of arms, the association Vergerio established between the benevolent character of the prince and his family sign is mapped onto the figural portrait—the body—of the prince. The heraldic sign becomes the memorable, metaphorical vehicle for the characteristics of the prince by its juxtaposition with both the story of his generosity and with his figural portrait.

Similarly, in his account of Marsilio 'il Grande' da Carrara, the second Carrara prince (r. 1338–45), Vergerio recounts a humorous (and likely legendary) story from the prince's life that emphasizes the prince's heraldry as a metaphor for the prince himself. Per the conventions of the biographical genre, Vergerio begins the life by giving his reader the details about Marsilio's acquired wealth and power in Padua. He then lists the prince's most noteworthy characteristics, which are also conventional traits for 'good' rulers: Marsilio is prudent, generous, magnanimous, forgiving, and intelligent. Yet, Vergerio added one quality—the prince's sense of humor—that piques the reader's interest and grounds the more abstract, traditional virtues of the prince in a more tangible and memorable one. Vergerio focuses the reader's attention on this attribute by telling a story in which humor and heraldry play central roles:

> Marsilio the Great, son of Perenzano, who was the younger brother of Jacobus [Giacomo] the Great, succeeded as sole heir to his father and uncle, from which inheritances he possessed extensive wealth, since to them [Jacobus and Perenzano] had come down the patrimony of all those who had descended from Jacobino, the nephew of Marsilio the First [father of Perenzano and Giacomo the Great], and of many others of the Carrara clan. All that estate came down to this man alone, and when he died, also without children, his whole branch of the family died out.
>
> But although his wealth was great and widespread, it was nevertheless the least thing that seemed admirable in him: just as he had acquired for himself outstanding personal wealth, so also he acquired the virtues of an outstanding mind, prudence, generosity, and a character that was conciliatory, along with magnanimity; and they say that he was as grave and appropriate in serious circumstances as he was jolly in every

conversation; and they say he frequently made jokes about other people and replied to jokes made about him. Out of these sayings, I will here insert one, which is commonly held among the best:

By chance Albertinus Mussatus (whom I mentioned at the beginning of this work) was on his way out of the palace and carelessly bumped into him [Marsilio], and when he [Mussato] wanted to excuse his mistake in a clever way, said that it was no wonder, since an ass does not usually make way for anyone. For that animal was the emblem which he and his family used, from which they took their surname. Marsilio said, 'Yes, but a wagon is accustomed to turn its pole aside', meaning himself and his family, whose emblem was the cart.[26]

The joke's punchline depends upon the reader's knowledge of Carrara family's heraldry: leaving the family palace, Albertino Mussato—a local chronicler who was not a Carrara supporter—bumps into Marsilio. Mussato, wanting to be witty, uses his family sign (an ass) to explain away his fault. An ass, Mussato quips, does not make way for anyone. Not to be outdone, Marsilio minimizes Mussato's indiscretion, noting that it is in the nature of the cart—the Carrara *carro*—to move around obstacles. The reader comes away from the text with a chuckle at Mussato's expense and a memorable account of Marsilio's good character directly tied to an image of his heraldic device.

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26   Vergerio P., *De principibus* 383: 'Marsilius Major de Carraria patre Perenzano natus, qui fuit Jacobi grandis minor natu germanus, unicus patri patruque heres successit, ex quibus hereditatibus amplissimas opes possedit, cum in hos omnium eorum, qui ex Jacobino, Marsilii primi nepote, descenderant, aliorumque complurium ex Carrigera gente patrimonia derivata esset; quae in hunc unum omnia confluxerunt, quo etiam sine liberis moriente, omnis ejus lateris stirps intercidit. Sed opes cum essent illi maximae atque amplissimae, minimum tamen erant, quod videretur extimandum in eo: ita proprias atque excellentes in se opes collegerat, egregii scilicet animi virtutes, prudentiam, liberalitatem, et cum magnanimitate placabilitatem ingentem, fuisseque eum ferunt, ut in rebus seriis gravem ac maturum, ita plane in omni conversatione jucundum, ac pleraque jocis et dixisse in alios, et in se dicta refellisse; e quibus unum, quod vulgo in primis fertur, hic inseram. Albertinus Musattus, cujus est initio hujus operis mentio habita, e regione forte praeteriens imprudens in eum offendit, cumque suum errorem urbane vellet excusare, non esse mirandum, inquit, quoniam asinus nemini cedere soleret. Erat enim id animal signum, quo ipse suique uterentur, unde etiam Familia sumptum cognomen habet. "Immo vero", inquit Marsilis, "temonem currus declinare consuevit", se notans ac suos, quorum currus esset insigne'. I am grateful to my colleague, Margaret Musgrove, for her help with the Latin translations for this project. Any errors, however, are my own.

For the reader encountering representations of the prince's heraldry in Francesco's books, rhetorical devices employed by the authors mobilized connections between the words and images as mediated by the reader's imagination. The goal of these connections was to generate memorable meaning for the reader from the interplay between text, image, and personal visualization. The resulting perception of the prince and his heraldry supported an image of the prince as he wanted to be seen, and, more importantly, did so in a manner that appeared to be orchestrated by the reader.

The Carrara's heraldic devices hold no meaning when isolated from a guided narrative of their value, such as Vergerio's example above. A golden-horned Moor, a bodiless hand holding an armillary sphere, and a large red cart are all signs that offer no *de facto* associations. While their repetitive placement on objects and architecture associate the signs with ownership, the rhetorical devices used by local biographers, chroniclers, and orators in their accounts of the Carrara lives reinterpret the signs as more than simple markers of possession. The authors' use of rhetorical devices strengthens the association between the heraldry, the prince, and his character by teaching the reader how to generate a more meaningful understanding of these signs through metaphor and analogy.

In the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, a handbook of rhetoric lauded by Petrarch and his fellow humanists and widely believed to be by Cicero, the author discusses the crucial role of imagery in the preservation of memories. Cicero describes the process of cultivating memorable meaning through metaphorical association when he explains the development of mnemonic devices. He notes that in order best to remember events, ideas, or words, we must imprint images onto specific backgrounds in our imaginations, backgrounds that he likens to the surfaces prepared for writing: 'For backgrounds are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like reading'.[27] To draw forth these memories, we 'read' through the images, which Cicero calls 'likenesses of words' (*verborum similitudines*), that are written onto the surfaces of our minds.[28]

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27   Cicero, *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, Loeb Classical Library 403, ed.–trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge: 1954) III. 17.30: 'Nam loci cerae aut chartae simillimi sunt, imagines litteris, dispositio et conlocatio imaginum scripturae, pronuntiatio lectioni'.

28   Cicero, *Rhetorica* III. 20–21.34: '[…] ex ordine in locis ponemus et quotienscumque rem meminisse volemus, si formarum dispositione et imaginum diligenti notatione utemur, facile ea quae volemus memoria consequemur'.

Reading the image in the mind, for Cicero, unlocked further details associated with the corresponding memory. For instance, Cicero described how to remember an entire event (his example is a complex murder trial) by mapping its many components onto a single image or scene. 'Often we encompass the record of an entire matter by one notation, a single image', Cicero writes, and from this single image 'read' in the mind, the many details of the event can be recalled.[29] The idea that we read the images in our minds and extrapolate the details from those images, is conducive to understanding how the Carrara heraldry and the images in the *Carrara Herbal* functioned as signs for the prince's person and his character.

For Cicero, in order to create an accessible memory, the sign or record must be 'striking' or vivid. He cautions his reader several times about the importance of choosing a remarkable, unique image as a key to a memory since, through the sign's uniqueness, it is naturally more memorable. He explains,

> We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in the memory. And we shall do so if we establish likenesses as striking as possible; [. . .] if we assign to them [images] of exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we dress some of them with crowns or purple cloaks, for example, so that *the likeness may be more distinct to us*; [. . .] or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, *will ensure our remembering them more readily.*[30]

Carrara heraldic devices are like Cicero's 'striking' images: they encompass and record a greater idea—a specific, guided understanding of the Carrara prince and his character—in a memorable way.

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29   Cicero, *Rhetorica* III. 20.33–34: 'Rei totius memoriam saepe una nota et imagine simplici comprehendimus'.

30   Cicero, *Rhetorica* III. 22.37: 'Imagines igitur nos in eo genere constituere oportebit quod genus in memoria diutissime potest haerere. Id accidet si quam maxime notatas similitudines constituemus; si non multas nec vagas, sed aliquid agentes imagine ponemus; si egregiam pulcritudinem aut unicam turpitudinem eis adtribuemus; si aliquas exornabimus, ut si coronis aut veste purpurea, *quo nobis notatior sit similitudo*; aut si qua re deformabimus, ut si cruentam aut c aeno oblitam aut rubrica delibutam inducamus, quo magis insignita sit forma, aut ridiculas res aliquas imaginibus adtribuamus, nam ea res *quoque faciet ut facilius meminisse valeamus*. Nam quas res veras facile meminimus, easdem fictas et diligener notatas meminisse non difficile est. Sed illud facere oportebit, ut identidem primos quosque locos imaginum renovandarum causa celeriter animo pervagemus'. Emphases mine.

Together, the text and images in the *Liber cimeriorum* demonstrate how a system of metaphors aligns the heraldic sign with a descriptive, written portrait of the prince and conflates the prince's body and character with his heraldry. This conflation transforms the heraldry into a 'striking' sign for a comprehensive understanding of the prince. In this book, each prince's personal shield is used as a metaphor for his individual virtues, an idea appropriated from another local chronicle, the *Cronaca Carrarese*, and also seen in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus*.

Each of Lazzaro da Malrotondi's poetic biographies in the *Liber cimeriorum* accompanies a representation of the corresponding prince's individual *cimiero*. For example, Ubertino's *cimiero*—the Saracen with the golden horns later appropriated by both the elder and younger Francesco—is portrayed beneath a description of the prince drawn from his epitaph in which the *cimiero* is compared to the prince [Fig. 9.3]. According to the epitaph, Ubertino, like his personal device, was watchful and prepared to defend Padua against her enemies. The verse reads:

> Ubertino, the third Carrara lord of Padua, wore / the horned Moor, [and] severe [Ubertino] persevered. / Here [in Padua], he kept governance of the court [and] likewise kept its customs. / At the same time, he increased the honor and status of his progeny. / With watchful mind, he laid a trap for the faithless enemy. / It seems to be, he killed all those whom he saw to be hostile.[31]

Seeing Ubertino's arms immediately after reading the corresponding description of the prince encourages the reader to perceive the heraldry as analogous to the prince himself. The fierce, perspicacious Moor atop his shield becomes an easily recollected foil for Ubertino—as severe, persistent, and watchful, traits emphasized in the accompanying description of the prince. Also, the author is careful to point out just how Ubertino's qualities ennobled the house of Carrara, becoming characteristics of the dynasty as well as of the individual prince.

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31   *Liber cimeriorum*, fol. 16r: 'Ternus Vbertinus patanorum carriger heroc [herorum] / Cornigerum gessit maurum trudendo seueros [sic]. / Hic tenuit gestus aule tenuit quo[que] mores. / Carrigere simul aurit honores. / Hostibus infidias animo vigilante parauit. / Quos uidet esse truculente ubiq[ue] necauit'. On relationship of the verses to the *Cronaca Carrarese* see Cozzi, "*Liber cimeriorum*" 151.

In their accounts of the lives of the Carrara princes, the local chroniclers, biographers, and orators energized the association between the princes and their heraldic signs by means of rhetorical devices premised on the power of sight, devices described and used by Cicero and Quintilian. Doing so, the authors enabled these signs to serve as unforgettable icons in the halls of the reader's memory. In this context, in which chroniclers, poets, and artists emphasized the heraldic sign as a metaphor for the prince, interpreting the plant imagery in the *Carrara Herbal* as a sign for Francesco Novello and his interests is appropriate and corresponds with contemporaneous practices. The family heraldry paired with the opening representation of the lemon tree 'reads' as a new heraldry-portrait pairing. The reader knows how to interpret the juxtaposition in words or images of heraldry and the princes' portraits from experience with Francesco's other books. Within this reading experience shaped by Francesco's book collecting practices, the lemon tree is a 'striking' sign—and a new personal badge—for Francesco Novello, whose patronage is assured by the presence of his other heraldic signs. As a novel badge, the lemon tree becomes a lens through which the reader can perceive the last Carrara prince in the context of his interest in contemporary medicine and his support of the medical schools of the University of Padua. Francesco acquired many medical treatises, surpassing his collection of chronicles and biographies, and this interest set Francesco apart from his ancestors. Yet, while showcasing a distinctive aspect of his individual patronage and character, the frontispiece of the *Carrara Herbal* attests that Francesco tied his new interests, through rhetoric and vision, to the patronage traditions of his forefathers.

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Anthropomorphic Maps: On the Aesthetic Form and Political Function of Body Metaphors in the Early Modern Europe Discourse

Elke Anna Werner

Introduction

In the 16th and 17th century, Europe underwent profound political, religious, economic and social change, which contemporaries interpreted as an alarming crisis.[1] This situation not only gave rise to an independent discourse on Europe expounded in public media—from political journalism to literature and the visual arts, cartography and other media—but also provided the context for the development of a new pictorial form: the female personification of Europe as a continent.[2] This pictorial form apparently originated in an anthropomorphic map, a hybrid fusing cartographic and allegorical modes of representation to create the image of a young woman from abstract depictions of mountains, rivers, valleys and cities. Surprisingly, the new image personifying Europe appeared from the start in two contrasting forms: on the one hand, a strong female ruler (*europa triumphans*) distinguished by the insignia of imperial rule and military power; and, on the other hand, a weak, needy, helpless woman (*europa deplorans*).

According to Wolfgang Schmale, the continent embodied as a woman is 'Europe's true form', unifying the entire tradition of literary and iconographic images of Europe since classical times.[3] This new pictorial form combines, in his view, diverse subjects ranging from the mythological narrative of the Rape

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1 Schilling M., "Flugblatt und Krise in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Harms W. – Messerli A. (eds.), *Wahrnehmungsgeschichte und Wissensdiskurs im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit* (1450–1700) (Basel: 2002) 33–56.

2 Poeschel S., *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 1985); Wiebel C., "Mythos als Medium—zur unterschiedlichen Deutbarkeit früher Europa-Darstellungen", in Salzmann S. (ed.), *Mythos Europa* (Hamburg: 1988) 38–55; Schmale W., *Geschichte Europas* (Vienna: 2001).

3 Schmale W., "Europa—die weibliche Form", *L'Homme. Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 11, 2 (2000) 211–233; Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* Chapter IV; in the medieval period, Japheth, one of Noah's three sons, was regarded as the Christian father of Europe (Gen. 10, 1–32); in the later Middle Ages, this Biblical tradition was certainly still

of Europa and the medieval Christian analogy of Europa and Mary to abstract political allegories and cartographic images. The ascription of the female gender to Europe in the early modern era, Schmale argues, was only minimally due to the linguistic gender of continents. Instead, it was actually rooted in the independent tradition of such images of Europe; ultimately, he adds, the crucial factor was the male view of the subject, the perspective of the audience addressed by the works—i.e., contemporary political actors, whose knowledge and behavioural norms gave rise to a female personification of the continent of Europe.[4] This article sets out to trace the development, formal structure and political function of this type of image, and aims to cast some light on the ambivalence of the highly antithetical Europe images in the context of an early modern notion of European identity. To what extent did these two images depend on the contexts in which they appeared, and what intentions were they able to convey? In this period of political and social upheaval, what significance did images have for the formation of a European identity? And, finally, what specific functions were attributed to (on the one hand) cartography and (on the other hand) allegorical representation?

Europa Triumphans

The first known personified depiction of the European continent, and hence the 'archetype' of a new depiction of Europe, is a woodcut published in 1537 by Johannes Putsch (1516–1542), an Innsbruck humanist and private secretary of the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand. It shows a west-facing cartographic view of Europe superimposed on the figure of a woman [Fig. 10.1].[5] The strong contours of the woman's figure, dressed in contemporary robes, lend the continent's arbitrary geographical forms a definite shape. The Iberian Peninsula forms the young woman's crowned head, while her upper body is composed of France and the Holy Roman Empire—with the Kingdom of Bohemia as its heart. The hem of her long gown encompasses the Baltic countries, Russia, Bulgaria and Greece—and thus largely the European lands of ancient Sarmatia. The

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in evidence, with Europe frequently named 'the land of Japheth' on maps, see Schmale W., *Geschichte und Zukunft der europäischen Identität* (Stuttgart: 2008) 76.

4   Schmale, *Europa—die weibliche Form* 211–233.

5   Dreier F. A., "Die Weltallschale Kaiser Rudolfs II", in Kohl K.-H. (ed.), *Mythen der Neuen Welt. Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Lateinamerikas* (Berlin: 1982) 111–12.; Schmale, "Europa—die weibliche Form" 224ff.; Schmale W., "Europa, Braut der Fürsten. Die politische Relevanz des Europamythos im 17. Jahrhundert", in Bußmann K. – Werner E. A. (eds.), *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder* (Stuttgart: 2004) 245–6; Siegel S., "Das Kleid der Europa. Zur Bildgeschichte eines allegorisch-kartographischen Hybrids im 16. Jahrhundert", in Ganz D. – Rimmele M. (eds.), *Das Kleid der Bilder. Bildspezifische Sinndimensionen von Kleidung in der Vormoderne* (Emsdetten: 2012) 219–243, here 232–234.
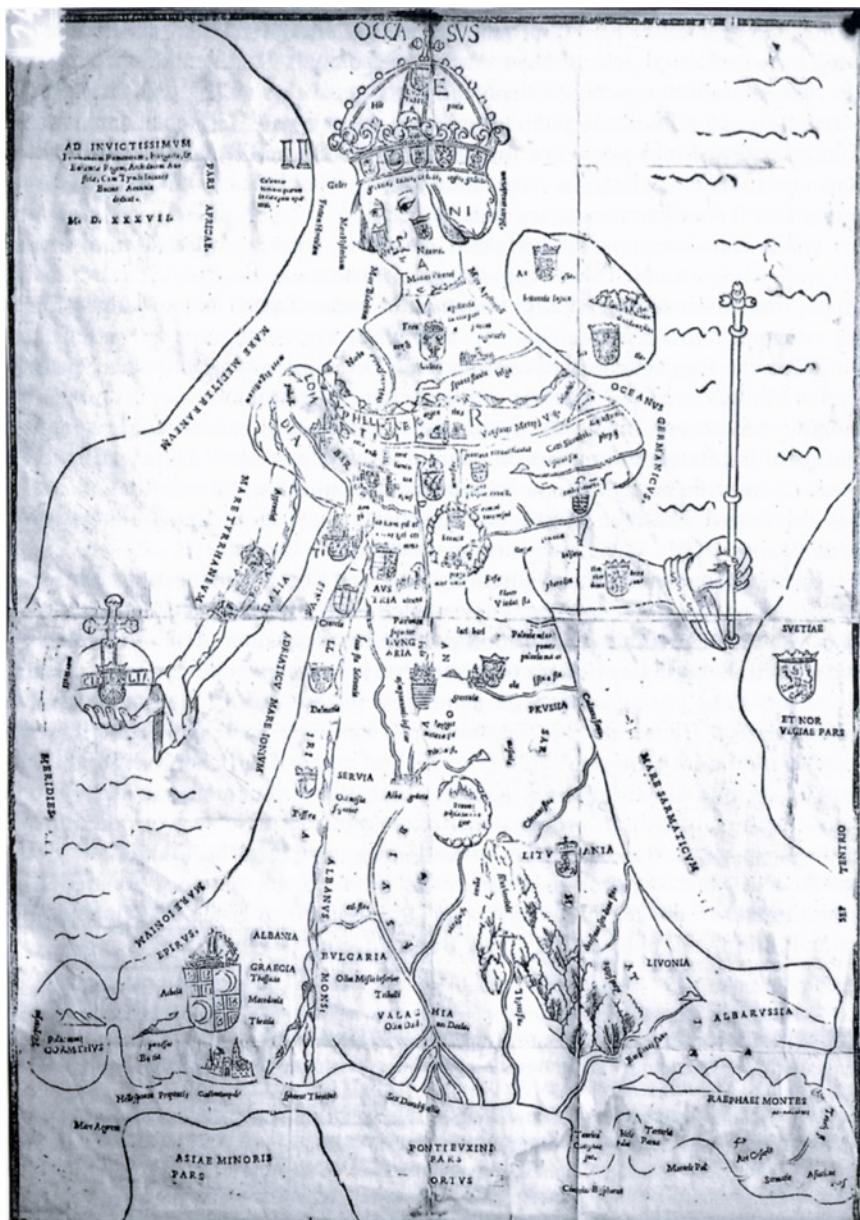
FIGURE 10.1   *Johannes Putsch (*Bacius*), Europa Regina (1537). Woodcut. Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum.*

Pyrenees run around the figure's neck like a pearl necklace, and she has rivers and other chains of mountains running down her long gown, highlighted in various places by major cities and coats of arms. The Asian and African continents protrude into the picture as amorphous, undifferentiated shapes. Scandinavia is separated from the rest of Europe and, similarly, only part of it is visible; America is not included. This female figure, with her insignia of the Carolingian hoop crown, imperial orb in her left hand and sceptre in the right, is intended to represent the empire which, in its geographical form, includes all of Christian Europe.

This presentation of a map of Europe in an allegorical guise embodies the traditional medieval concept of the political unity of all Christians (*res publica christiana*), a notion providing the moral basis for the political and legal system of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.[6] The Church and worldly power were supposed to serve this ideal of a community of interests, linked by belief, existing side by side in unity and peace, to protect the faithful. It is certainly remarkable that the first known personification of Europe as a continent can be located within this tradition of Christian theories of state that may seem somewhat utopian, given the context of the Reformation, early modern state building and the erosion of pontifical power. Nonetheless, the two aspects of unity and peace in particular played a key role in making the *res publica christiana* an attractive model, especially during the upheavals of the early modern period. While the idea of the unity of all Christians signified strength and could serve to mobilise European rulers against external threats—for example, the Ottoman Empire—the imperative of peace and idea of Europe having a special ability to achieve peace in times of crisis expressed the hope of an impending end to conflict.[7]

Since the early 16th century, the Habsburgs had made this idea of empire their own, linking the continuation of the medieval Christian empire with their own claim to the throne.[8] With Spain forming the regal crowned head of Putsch's image of Europe, every contemporary beholder would read this *europa triumphans* as embodying the Habsburgs' claim to a universal monarchy. In 1537, after four years of armed truce, the military conflict with the Ottoman Empire flared up again as Ottoman forces threatened Austria's hereditary lands from the south-east. Thus, it seems likely that this visualisation of a unified Europe and its allegorical idealization in the figure of *europa*

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6   On the history of the term, see Hageneder O., "Christianitas", in Kasper W. (ed.) *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Nachträge) 11 vols. (Freiburg: 2001) III 46–7.

7   On the Christian notion of peace, see Janssen W., "Friede", in Brunner O. – Conze W. – Koselleck R. (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1979) II 543–591.

8   Bosbach F., *Monarchia Universalis. Ein politischer Leitbegriff der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 1997).

triumphans was intended to support Habsburg efforts to gain the (military and financial) aid of other rulers in defending Europe against Turkish forces. The *AD INVICTISSIMUM* tribute on the top left of the leaf can be understood in this spirit as a dedication to Ferdinand I, with the praise of invincibility expressing the hope that the Archduke's military successes may protect Europe and preserve the continent's unity.

The female figure's exceptionally fashionable court gown also references the immediate present and the Habsburgs.[9] However, her depiction, even if somewhat ungainly in artistic expression, also offers other levels of meaning. Presenting Europe as a young woman surrounded by water indirectly evokes the mythological figure of Europa, the king's young daughter carried off by Zeus across the sea to the land that came to bear her name. Aside from this allusion to Europe's founding myth, the image clearly visualises Europe's claim to world domination and its supremacy over the other continents. Only Europe is represented as an entire figure (and a queen at that). The other two continents, in their partial and amorphous shapes, are seemingly part of an uncivilised natural state; consequently, they are not Europe's cultural equals. Finally, Europe's personification references the topos of the ruler who takes his kingdom for his wife.[10] The figure of Europe turning to the left, her head slightly lowered, mirrors the convention of depicting married couples with the wife usually placed to her husband's left, turning more or less towards him. Such a reading is further supported by the gesture of her right hand, which seems to be offering the imperial orb to an imaginary male pendant figure.

This image of Europe is thus inscribed with a range of meanings and associations serving to legitimate the Habsburg claim to a universal monarchy. The dominant traditional theory of peaceful co-existence in Europe played an important role here and, via the cartographic depiction in a female form, took on a new form bearing many symbolic connotations. The visual image of Europe's superiority over the other continents further strengthened the notion of unity and freedom, positive qualities in the *res publica christiania* that supported a larger sense of identity. Through the medium of printing, this positive model could be disseminated in substantial quantities and, in difficult times, address a large audience to gain support for Habsburg political plans.[11]

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9   Schmale, "Europa—die weibliche Form" 225; the suggestion has been made—though less convincingly—that this is a portrait of Isabella of Portugal, the wife of Charles V; in the end, Siegel's suggestion ("Das Kleid der Europa" 233) of identifying the figure with Anne of Bohemia and Hungary, wife of Archduke Ferdinand, remains just a suggestion.

10   Schmale, "Europa, Braut der Fürsten" 253–267.

11   Although only one example has survived in the Tyrolean State Museum, it seems reasonable to assume a much larger edition (usually 300–500 copies); Schmale "Europa, Braut der Fürsten" 244.

Such an unusual and highly innovative image expressing the idea of *europa triumphans*, developed directly in the Habsburg milieu, had a significant effect. Its success may well have been largely due to the use of a body metaphor to visualize early modern Europe as a socio-political entity.[12] In their research into body metaphors, Koschorke, Lüdemann, Frank and Matala de Mazza have shown that the metaphor of the political body provides an important vehicle for a collective's self-presentation.[13] They argue that since social structures are essentially fictive and, as human constructs, require continual endorsement to ensure their continued existence, there is a considerable need for them to be given a concrete corporeality. 'There is a tradition in Europe of collectives conceiving of themselves as a body. Rather than this imagery solely serving to visualise the collective, it also has a power to create institutions. The collectives' fictive self-presentation as corporate bodies has given rise to political and legal regulations which are fundamental for the development of the European state'.[14] In the context of this pre-eminent function of socio-political self-images, the artefact that shows the collective imaginary in a concrete form and that the beholder may keep in mind gains a particular significance, not least because it constitutes its own system of reality through its genuine materiality and corporality.[15] In a wider sense, this suggests the particular power of visual depictions of body metaphors.

The broad reception of Europe's image as a woman in cartographic works of the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries evidences its far-reaching acceptance and validity in expressing European identity. The first two Basel editions of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, printed in 1544 and 1548, only employ the metaphor of Europe as a queen as a linguistic device. Yet the 1550 edition included, for the first time, a small map of Europe in the shape of a woman.[16] From 1588, this was replaced by an anthropomorphic map of Europe

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12   In terms of scientific cartography, this map showing Europe as queen is surprisingly early. The first early modern map of Europe was produced by Martin Waldseemüller 1511–20; see Duchhardt H. – Wrede M., "Europa", in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, 16 vols. (Stuttgart: 2006) III 593–619.

13   Koschorke A. – Lüdemann S. – Frank T. – Matala de Mazza E. (eds.), *Der fiktive Staat. Konstruktionen des politischen Körpers in der Geschichte Europas* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2007).

14   Ibidem 11–12.

15   On the relationship between imaginary and real images, and the aesthetic effect of the iconic, see Boehm G., *Was ist ein Bild* (München: 1995); Krüger K. – Nova A. (eds.), *Imagination und Wirklichkeit. Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz: 2000); Boehm G., *Wie Bilder Sinn erzeugen. Die Macht des Zeigens* (Berlin: 2007); Boehm G. – Mersmann B. – Spies C. (eds.), *Movens Bild. Zwischen Evidenz und Affekt* (Paderborn: 2008).

16   Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* 68–9.

as a queen—a map that, although very similar to Putsch's cartographic image, was more accomplished artistically. This map remained almost unchanged in the following editions [Fig. 10.2]. The status of this anthropomorphic map in the *Gesamtwerk* of Münster's *Cosmographia* becomes clear when one notes that it followed another map of Europe at the beginning of the book. While the latter claimed to be a scientific representation of Europe's geography, the former (*Europa triumphans*) preceded a text describing the qualities of Europe, the mild climate, its riches, and so on. Thus, there is a very clear distinction here between the scientific and technological cartographic image and the artistic shape of Europe's self-image in the form of a ruling female monarch. This would also explain why *Europa triumphans* shows Spain at the top, deviating from the contemporary cartographic convention of a south-north or north-south alignment. Instead, this depiction follows the criteria for an artistic figural representation where cartographic accuracy is subordinate to a convincing and unequivocal picture of a female ruler.

The maps of Europe in Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae* impressively demonstrate that this hybrid pictorial form, a mix of cartography and allegory, was also accepted and used as an image of European identity in the second half of the 16th century outside the Habsburg and Catholic camps.[17] Bünting, a Protestant pastor in Goslar, also included a stylised figurative map of Europe as a woman in the first edition of his 'travel book' in 1582. In the second edition of 1589, his publication had a far more elaborate map, much closer in style to Putsch's [Fig. 10.3]. The main change was to the queen's gown, adapting it to suit the sumptuary laws of the time. Instead of a gown with a low neckline, she is now wearing a high-neck robe with a pleated collar up to her chin. If this map of Europe, whose 'archetype' visualised the Habsburg—and hence Roman Catholic—claim to universal sovereignty, could be included in a typical work of Protestant devotional literature, then over 40 years after its creation the original denominational significance of this type of image must have waned. The inclusion of the Europe map in Münster's *Cosmographia* at this time would also support this notion. In this process, the memorable and positive image of a female ruler was adapted to the different contexts. For example, in Bünting's case, the cartographic depiction of Europe is given prominence over the figural depiction, since the map is shown with the north-south alignment following the conventions of scientific cartography—and hence, the queen is not standing, but lying across the double-page illustration. Moreover, the heart of Europe was no longer Bohemia but the Duchy of Brunswick, Bünting's home region.

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17   Ibidem 224ff; Duchhardt—Wrede, "Europa" 596.

FIGURE 10.2   *Anonymus*, Europa Regina. *Woodcut illustration to Sebastian
                 Münster's* Cosmographey oder Beschreibung aller Länder,
                 Herrschaften und fürnemsten Stetten des gantzen Erdbodens,
                 sampt ihren Gelegenheiten, Eygenschafften, Religion,
                 Gebreuchen, Geschichte unnd Handthierungen (*Basel,
                 Sebastian Henricpetri: 1588*) *54.*
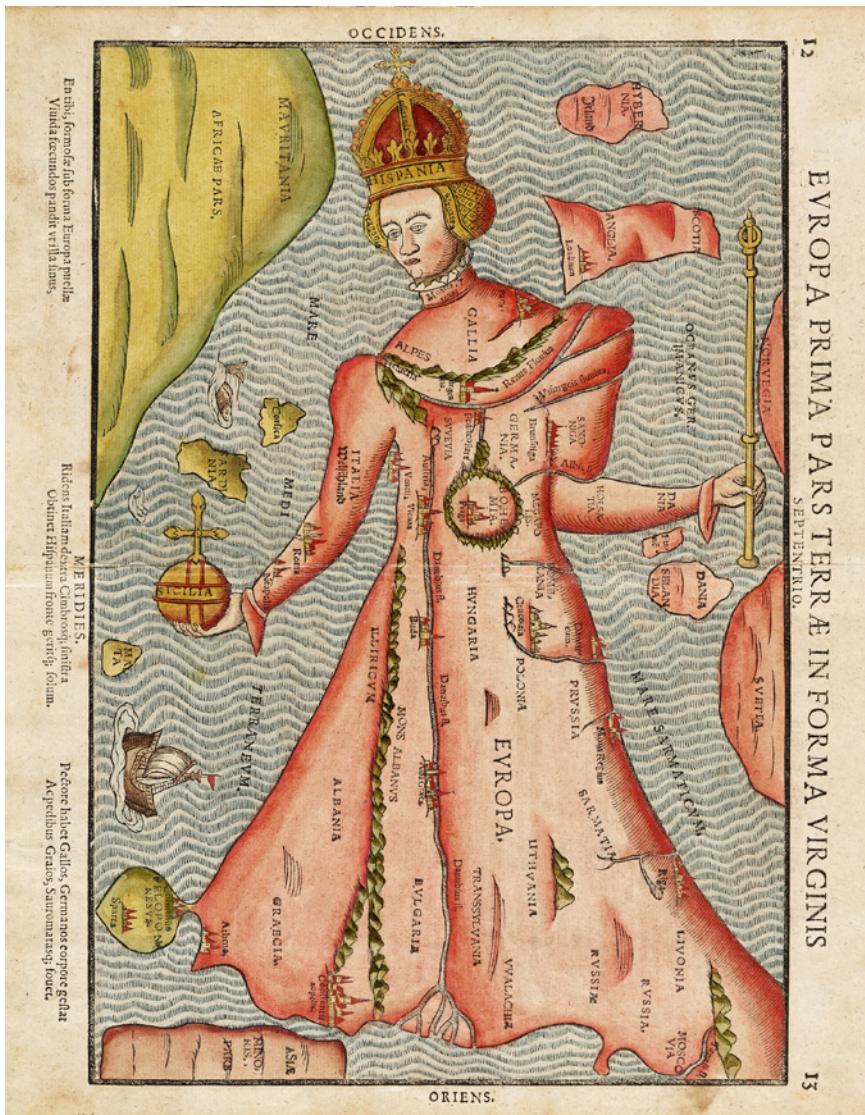
FIGURE 10.3   *Anonymus*, Europa prima pars terrrae in forma virginis. *Coloured woodcut,
pastel colour, 38 × 30 cm. Illustration to Heinrich Bünting's* Itinerarium Sacrae
Scripturae: das ist ein Reisebuch, über die gantze heilige Schrift (*Wittenberg,
Zacharias Krafft: 1588*) 4–5, table 12. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum /
S. Ahlers.

FIGURE 10.4   *Anonymus*, Het Spaens Europa (*1598*). *Copper
                engraving. Nürnberg, Germanisches
                Nationalmuseum.*

However, in the second half of the 16th century, the original significance of
Habsburg universal sovereignty in the anthropomorphic depiction of Europe
was not quite lost.[18] It could be foregrounded again as needed, and even utilized
for anti-Habsburg propaganda, as is evident in a 1598 broadsheet that takes as
its theme the sinking of the Spanish Armada ten years earlier. This anthropo-
morphic map of Europe as a queen is again oriented to the west, with Spain
as the woman's head at the top, and set under the title inscription *Het Spaens
Europa* [Fig. 10.4].[19] In comparison to earlier versions, the figure now includes
the British Isles and Scandinavia. In contrast, the Netherlands is depicted as
an island surrounded by a protective fence, with a man in Netherlandish cos-
tume defending the land against the attacking Spanish fleet. Since the man
is accompanied by a lion, the heraldic animal of the Netherlands, he clearly
personifies Dutch resistance against the Spanish. He succeeds in repulsing the
fleet, which is then defeated by England soon afterwards. The Spanish Armada,
identified by an inscription, is shown sinking to the upper right of Europe's
head. Under the spell of these military events, the figure of Europe has relaxed

18   Schmale, "Europa—die weibliche Form" 224, cites other depictions of Europe in female
       form, above all from the circle around Emperor Rudolph II. These include Matthias Quad,
       Europae Descriptio (1587, copper engraving) and Johannes Silber's 1589 'Weltallschale' of
       Rudolph II (Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum).
19   Bußmann K. – Schilling H. (eds.), *1648—Krieg and Frieden in Europa* (Münster: 1998/99)
       116; Schmale, "Europa—die weibliche Form" 224.

her stiff, emblematic pose and seems revitalised. She is holding a sword in her left hand, ready to attack, even though her posture, slightly angled to the left, seems unstable, suggesting a fall to come—which the beholder could connect to the sinking of the Armada.

Hence, this Netherlandish broadsheet capitalizes on the widespread self-image of Europe as a ruler under Habsburg supremacy in order to refer, in a situation of Spain's military weakness, to the Netherland's continuing and unwavering struggle against the Habsburgs and the Catholic Church. Within the context of the war of independence from Spain, the originally positive image of Europe had become negatively charged, with the Dutch consequently answering it with their own self-image: an anthropomorphic map showing the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the form of a lion, their heraldic animal [Fig. 10.5].[20]

FIGURE 10.5   *Claes Jansz. Visscher*, Leo Belgicus, *map showing the United Provinces of the Netherlands on the occasion of the Twelve-Year Truce (1611–1621). Coloured etching, 56.9 × 48.2 cm. Rotterdam, Atlas Van Stolk.*

20   Bußmann K. – Schilling H. (eds.), *1648—Krieg und Frieden in Europa* 124; Michalsky T., *Geographie—das Auge der Geschichte. Historische Reflektionen über die Macht der Karten im 16. Jahrhundert* (2009, Website Prof. Dr. Frithjof Voss Foundation) http://voss-stiftung .de/publikationen/wissenschaftliche-publikationen/die-macht-der-karten/tanja-michal sky-geographie-das-auge-der-geschichte-historische-reflexionen-uber-die-macht-der- karten-im-16-jh/ (accessed 20.1.2014).

The *Leo Belgicus* was first included in an eponymous book in 1583 and, according to an inscription by its inventor Michael von Aitzing, the objective was to make not only the country's geography but also its politics clear to the viewer. Even if the author underscores his impartiality in his account of political events, contemporaries could read from the zoomorphic shape of the map, which plays on the strength of a lion, the marked confidence of the seventeen provinces in their struggle against foreign Habsburg rule.

Europa Deplorans

In a famous speech given on 11 February 1543 in the Cologne University auditorium, Spanish physician and humanist Andrés de Laguna drew on the image of a woman as a personification of Europe. To give his audience a vivid picture of the political and social conditions in Europe, he presented his analysis as a parable of meeting a woman who came to ask his advice as a physician: 'A while ago—I was engaged in private discussions at the time—a woman sought me out. She was in quite a pitiable state, most eminent gentlemen, she was wretched and pale, with tears streaming down her face, her limbs injured or even entirely hewn off, her eyes hollow, and her body terribly emaciated. Such old women often tend to come to me when they are suffering from tuberculosis'.[21] After this medical diagnosis, Laguna turns his attention from the woman's physical suffering to her inner state and, at the same time, reveals the secret of her identity. The woman, who calls herself 'Europa', he continues, poured out her heart to him, her physician, bitterly complaining of her poor treatment by those she had previously admired and respected. She said she had been beautiful and distinguished, but now, Laguna remarked, she appeared to him like a living corpse, like an image (*imago*) deliberately seeking to inspire fear and terror. In a rhetoric rich in imagery, Laguna then describes the internal and external anatomy of a sickly Europe, including an additional description of the continent's geography. He then adds to this an impassioned defence of the Habsburg ruler Ferdinand I, as well as a tribute to the three spiritual Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, before concluding with a poem in which Europa, lamenting her own disgrace, again directly addresses the audience.

In his Cologne speech, Laguna inverts the idea of Europe's grandeur, power and supremacy visualised so clearly by Putsch in his anthropomorphic map of six years earlier. Whether or not the date of the speech on a Sunday in Cologne's

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21   As quoted in Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* 65–67 (which also includes his translation in German). The English title of the text is *Europe the Self-Tormentor, that is to say, she miserably torments herself and laments her own disgrace.*

Carnival season offered a welcome opportunity to invert a positive self-image into the negative image of a pitiable, ill old woman, this tactic offered Laguna the opportunity to draw on his knowledge both as a physician and as a humanist influenced by Erasmus' writings. In his metaphor of a sickly body politic, Laguna quite clearly references one of Europe's primal scenes, passed down in writings by the Roman historian Livy. In 494 B.C., after a plebeian insurgence, Menenius Agrippa succeeded in persuading the plebs to reach a peaceful agreement by recounting a parable of the state as a body. In this way, he not only averted a civil war, but also, as a result of the subsequent negotiations, initiated an institutional reform of the Roman republic by establishing a 'tribune of the plebs'.[22] According to Agrippa's parable, just as the human body was totally debilitated by the dispute between its members, so too was the social organism also endangered by the refusal of the plebs to cooperate, since health could only be guaranteed when all members of the body politic work together.

This fable of creating political unity through narrative means also constituted the message that Livy introduced into western European political consciousness through this important scene, so often cited in the early modern period.[23] Laguna too built on the power in the metaphor of the state as a social body, and shaped it into the image of an old, ill woman that reflected the politico-religious situation in Europe in the first half of the 16th century. The particular effect of this organological view of the state rests on, as it were, naturalistic evidence. A healthy body, by its very nature, only functions through the cooperation of individual body parts. Hence, to express the condition of a socio-political system, the antithetical seriously ill body offers a potent illustration of dangers to this system. Laguna has recourse to such notions when, for example, he describes the lands ceded to the Ottoman Empire as lost limbs.

However, the evolution of the sickly Europe metaphor that Laguna orchestrates, complete with deliberate emotional effects, and which he himself describes as an *image* (*imago*), does more than just characterise the political situation in the Europe of that time. In the tradition of Menenius, it also uses the body metaphor to develop a real political force, as is evident not merely from the date and location of Laguna's speech, but also the political status of the audience, which included Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, as well as other leading decision-makers in the Holy Roman Empire. Just a few days after the speech, the text was printed and distributed via a Cologne press—a fact that also evidences Laguna's political intentions. Moreover,

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22   See Koschorke – Lüdemann – Frank – Matala de Mazza, *Der fiktive Staat* 16ff.

23   For example in Erasmus' *Querela pacis* (Basel, J. Froben: 1517); this 'Complaint of Peace' was written for a peace conference supposed to take place in Cambrai.

the speech can be closely linked to the Imperial Diet called shortly before in Nuremberg (31 January–23 April 1543). Under the leadership of Ferdinand I, the Diet deliberated on the threat to the Holy Roman Empire posed by the Ottoman forces and the funding needed to strengthen the Imperial defences. Aside from the danger from the Ottoman Turks, the Diet's other major topic was the Reformation and its impact on the Empire's unity. With Protestant rulers calling for the Emperor to grant them religious concessions in return for their support against the Turks, the external threat to the Empire from the Ottoman Turks and the internal problems of the Empire's unity and stability had become directly related.

Ultimately, Laguna's precise concrete objectives in making this speech cannot be known. Building on the iconographic knowledge of his audience, who may have been familiar with Putsch's Habsburg-influenced map of Europe, Laguna might have sought to support Archduke Ferdinand by making his audience realise just how dangerous a lack of support for the planned Habsburg crusade would be both for the Empire and for Europe as a whole. However, the speech may also have been aimed at promoting Cologne Archbishop Hermann von Wied's reform efforts.[24] Von Wied was attempting to develop an independent reform policy which, in the spirit of Erasmus of Rotterdam, sought to improve the given situation (for example, by cultivating a Protestant Christianity capable of merging with a regenerated Catholic Church). As an acknowledged scholar and follower of Erasmus's ideas, Laguna may have hoped that the powerful imagery in his speech would prove effective in convincing his politically high-ranking audience of Wied's plans.

Laguna builds his rhetoric on the evocative power of compassion. Through gender difference and the accepted trope of the ruler who takes his kingdom as his wife, his speech not only illustrates a political agenda, but also seeks to move his listeners to action. The objective is to preserve or re-instate a unified and peaceful Europe, a *europa triumphans*, the implicit counterpart to Europe's negative image evoked, for example, when Laguna recalls Europa's former beauty and significance.[25]

In particular, with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, there were increasingly vocal complaints about a sickly Europe and the responsibility borne by its divided rulers. European princes were repeatedly admonished

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24   Brosseder J. (ed.), *450 Jahre Kölner Reformationsversuch: zwischen Reform und Reformation* (Cologne: 1993).

25   This negative image was also deliberately utilized in political journalism, as other examples illustrate. See Pilarski E., "Nathan Chytraeus, Herborn 1594. Artikel und Autopsie", in Schmale W. (Dir.), Internet database, 16th century, http://www.ng.fak09.uni-muenchen .de/gfn/chitraeus.html (accessed 20.11.2007).

to return to the traditional political order and moral standards. Initially, the body metaphor of a lamenting Europe appeared solely in writing, and only acquired a visual form in a broadsheet published in 1531 (Fig. 10.6).[26] The etching by Andreas Bretschneider, a Leipzig artist and printmaker, shows a barefoot woman on a large boulder, her loose hair flowing down around her. The woman's figure, larger-than-life and resembling an animated statue, forms the centre of the composition. She is attacked from the right by a group of soldiers including a Jesuit priest, who allows the group to be identified as the Catholic faction. A flash of lightning flickers across dark thundery skies and lands in the middle of a battle in the background. The woman turns away from this menacing scene, her left hand on her heart where she has been struck by an arrow. With imploring gestures, she turns both her face and outstretched right arm to the left to ask a group of men engaged in a peaceful discussion for help. The title of the broadsheet, *This is / the lament of Europe / her limbs and entire body injured / and wounded / now desiring solace and help*, is supplemented by two columns of text on the lower half of the sheet. Written in Alexandrine verse, Elias Rudel's poem is not only informed by the established semantic level of this Europe image, but also clearly influenced by Laguna's 'Europa' speech, given nearly 100 years previously. The poem begins by referring to Europe as a king's daughter, recalling the ancient myth of her origins, while the description of her as the 'ruler of the world' builds on the notion of the continent's supremacy over other continents—an idea also given a visual form in Putsch's anthropomorphic map and those of his successors. Finally, in direct speech, Europe bemoans the loss of her former beauty and denounces the war as cause of destruction and suffering. The poem's second section culminates in Europe's appeal to re-establish, with God's help, a just peace and unity 'throughout the country and empire'.[27]

Even if the text and image are given a similar amount of space, the image contains more extensive information since it both ascribes responsibility for the present political situation and names a specific audience and beacon of hope. While the Habsburg and Catholic faction appears on the right as the warmongers, the group of men on the left in the middle ground most likely represent the meeting of German Protestant rulers in Leipzig in May 1631.[28] In this context, the broadsheet appears to address members of the Protestant

26   Harms W. (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2: *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel* (Tübingen: 1997) Nr. 223; Tschopp S. S., "Gegenwärtige Abwesenheit. Europa als politisches Denkmodell im 17. Jahrhundert?", in Bußmann – Werner (eds.), *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert* 33–36.

27   See Tschopp, "Gegenwärtige Abwesenheit" 45–6.

28   Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter* 392; Tschopp, "Gegenwärtige Abwesenheit" 35.

FIGURE 10.6   *Andreas Bretschneider*, Europa querula et vulnerata, Das ist Klage der Europen (*1631*). *Etching, type printing. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek.*

faction directly, calling on them to settle the political disputes in their own camp so that they might join forces and prevail over Catholic and Hapsburg alliance. Thus, in this broadsheet just as in Laguna's speech, the figure of e*uropa deplorans* provides an immediate and direct address to a particular political group or faction which, through the emotionally charged image of a maltreated woman, is urged to concrete action.

It is notable that this particular *europa deplorans* is not depicted in the innovative form of an anthropomorphic map. While between 1588 and 1627 the *europa triumphans*, as an allegorical and cartographic hybrid, was a fixed element in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, and while it continued to be part of European identity in the minds of contemporaries, artists portraying the *europa deplorans* trope favoured an allegorical and narrative mode of representation.[29] As will become evident in the concluding discussion of a Rubens painting below, the *europa deplorans* image was also closely connected with the idea of a *res publica christiana*. Hence, both representative modes ultimately derived from the same political concept of the state.

In 1637/38 Peter Paul Rubens, court painter to the Habsburg rulers of the Netherlands and often entrusted with their international diplomatic missions, executed a large-format canvas painting now in the Palazzo Pitti. Following Rubens' description of the work, this painting is known as *The Horrors of War* [Fig. 10.7].[30] In early 1638, Rubens sent the painting from his Antwerp workshop to the Medici court in Florence. It is not known if the work was directly commissioned by Ferdinando II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, or whether Rubens painted the work on his own initiative. In a letter dated 12 March 1638 to Justus Sustermans, a fellow Flemish artist and court painter to the Medici, Rubens explained the work's symbolic and allegorical meaning. 'As for the subject of this picture', he wrote, 'it is very clear, so that with the little I wrote to you about it at the beginning, the remainder will perhaps make itself better understood to your experienced eye than through my explanation'. Rubens then proceeded to elucidate the work in emotional terms, going far beyond a factual explication of the iconography:

> The principal figure is Mars, who has left the opened temple of Janus (which in times of peace, according to Roman custom, remained closed) and strides forth with shield and blood-stained sword, threatening the nations with great disaster. He pays little heed to Venus, his mistress, who,

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29   Siegel, "Das Kleid der Europa" 236–237.

30   See Werner E. A., "Peter Paul Rubens und der Mythos des christlichen Europa", in Bußmann – Werner (eds.), *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert* 303–321, with secondary literature.

FIGURE 10.7   *Peter Paul Rubens*, The Horrors of War (*1637*). *Oil on canvas, 206 × 345 cm. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.*

accompanied by her Amors and Cupids, attempts to hold him back with caresses and embraces. From the other side, Mars is pulled forwards by the Fury Alekto, with a torch in her hand. Nearby are monsters, representing Pestilence and Hunger, those inseparable partners of war.

He then explains other figures, symbols and attributes before turning in conclusion to the despairing figure of Europe on the far left of his work:

> But that grief-stricken woman, clothed in black, with torn veil and robbed of all her jewels and her adornments, is unfortunate Europe (*l'infelice Europa*), victim for so many years now of plunder, outrage and misery, of which everyone is so fully aware that it is not necessary to go into detail. Europe's attribute is the globe, carried by a small Angel or Genius, and surmounted by the cross, to signify the Christian world (*l'orbe christiano*).[31]

As in the earliest known depiction of *europa deplorans* on the Leipzig broadsheet from 1631, Rubens also shows Europe in a simple contemporary gown that is torn across her breast. However, rather than placing Europe in the middle

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31   Magurn R. S. (ed.) *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: 1971) 408–9; here in the version from Paret P., *Imagined Battles: Reflections of War in European Art* (Chapel Hill: 1997) 42–44.

of his painting, Rubens has set her on the far left, reacting to the events in the centre by raising her arms despairingly into the air. Rubens used this gesture of lamentation from Christian iconography, a visual expression of intense distress and grief, a number of times in his compositions.[32] The significance of Europe's role in this work is due to her being both the starting point and conclusion of the entire composition. She directs the beholder's gaze to the closely intertwined, quarrelling figures of Mars and Venus in the centre, to the enraged Fury striving to pull Mars away, and to the figures tumbling to the ground, the last of which Rubens describes as personifying harmony, fecundity and architecture. The latter figure, lying stretch out with his arm raised, then guides the viewer's gaze back to the *europa deplorans*.

Rubens' Florentine painting can also be regarded as a negative reading of *europa triumphans*. However, while the Leipzig broadsheet can be related directly to a particular political event in 1631, the concrete political context of Rubens' allegory has not been identified with any certainty. According to earlier scholarship, this painting was read as a profoundly personal expression of a politically committed artist and diplomat, combining his particular view of the Thirty Years War with an urgent call for peace.[33] In Ulrich Heinen's view, though, given the political and military situation in 1637, the iconography is meant to exhort Ferdinando II de' Medici to join forces with the Habsburgs and, through a determined military campaign, to bring the war to a successful conclusion; in this reading, then, Rubens' painting is a 'war for peace'.[34] However, it should be noted against such an interpretation that, except for Europe's contemporary robe, Rubens avoids any direct references to current political events

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32   Baumstark R., "Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 45 (1974) 200–1.

33   Warnke M., *Kommentare zu Rubens* (Berlin: 1965) 63–4.; Hubala E., "Peter Paul Rubens. Der Krieg", in Gosebruch M. – Dittmann L. (eds.), *Argo. Festschrift für Kurt Badt* (Cologne: 1970) 277–289; Baumstark "Ikonographische Studien" 189–220; Einem H. von, *Die Folgen des Krieges. Ein Alterswerk von Peter Paul Rubens* (Opladen: 1975) 19; Warnke M., *Peter Paul Rubens. Leben und Werk* (Cologne: 1977) 128–130; Simson S. von, *Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)* (Mainz: 1996) 333; Hofmann W., "Gleichnis versus Ereignis. Krieg und Frieden in den Künsten", in Garber K. – Held J. – Jürgensmeier F. (eds.), *Erfahrung und Deutung von Krieg und Frieden. Religion—Geschlechter—Natur und Kultur* (Munich: 2001) 981–998. One finds this opinion not only in scholarly research in the German language; see also Bodart D. (ed.), *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del Seicento nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine* (Florence: 1977) 226–228; Acidini Luchinat C. – Capretti E. (eds.), *Il mito di Europa da fanciulla rapita a continente* (Florence: 2002) Nr. 90.

34   Heinen U., "La principal figura è Marte", in Luckhardt J. – Büttner N. – Heinen U. – Vetter A. – Welzel B. (eds.), *Peter Paul Rubens. Barocke Leidenschaften* (Braunschweig: 2004) 157–161.

in the painting itself. Instead, he depends entirely on the supratemporal visual language of allegory. Similarly, rather than containing any political comment on topical events, his letter elucidates the mythological and allegorical figures in quite general terms, mentioning only a generalized connection between the figure of Europe and the Thirty Years War. Given the discourse of Europe in texts and images in the 16th and early 17th century that Rubens references both in this work and his letter, his painting seems less a call to arms—since war would destroy the continent's political and cultural unity from within—than an appeal to the essential idea of Europe achieving peace through the unity of European rulers and, in this way, returning to Europe's original strength.[35]

Conclusion

In the early modern period, Europe's self-image as a female figure, either as a triumphant queen or maltreated despairing woman, can largely be explained by the metaphor's political function in appealing to a male audience, to rulers and the political elites, to take up responsibility for Europe's continuation and, depending on the context, actively support Europe in various ways. In this process, the general identification of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries with the Holy Roman Empire or Christian Europe appears clearly rooted in the powerful tradition found in medieval political theory of the unity of all Christians, which was set in contrast to an external threat from people of different religions. The broad acceptance of this established idea, especially in a phase of internal and external crisis, is evident in the identification with this image by both Catholics and Protestants. The fact that the image of Europe as a woman first appeared in the 1530s—initially in the hybrid form of an allegorical cartographic image, and later as a metaphor in a political speech—was due not least to the steadily worsening political, religious and social crises requiring images with greater force to convincingly convey the positive qualities associated with European identity. In the process, the early modern humanists and artists who gave this European self-image its concrete form aimed to tap into the power of body metaphors to help create identity—a power that had been acknowledged since the Classical period.

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35   See Werner "Peter Paul Rubens" 303–321.

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Figuration and Semiotic Potential

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Anthropomorphosis and Its Critics

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Prodigies of Nature, Wonders of the Hand: Political Portents and Divine Artifice in Haarlem ca. 1600

Walter S. Melion

My essay examines a pair of prints recording the two whales famously stranded on the Dutch littoral in 1598 and 1601 [Figs. 11.1 & 11.2]. Designed or engraved by Hendrick Goltzius and his associates, the premier printmakers in Holland, these monumental broadsheets function exegetically, reading the whales not as political prognostics, but as expressions of divine artifice writ large on the Book of Nature.[1] In truth, it would be more accurate to claim that they substitute one kind of exegetical reading, closely associated with Lutheranism, with another based in the Psalms and the Gospels, but not confessionally bound, and therefore, not overtly political. In order to explain how and why these prints deflect political commentary, I first distinguish them from earlier prints that construe beached whales as political omens portending God's intentions for the new Dutch state. Then, situating the prints within Goltzius's larger project of staging artifice itself as the figure of Christian piety, I further contextualize them by reference to the rhetorical *spelen van sinne* (allegorical verse dramas) regularly performed throughout the Low Countries by civic chambers of rhetoric, with whose discourse of *const* (art, artifice, artisanship) Goltzius was intimately familiar. In passing, I also locate the Goltzius workshop's beached-whale prints within the distinctive socio-political circumstances of Haarlem, where they were produced: this prosperous city had three clear demographics—Mennonites, Catholics, and the Reformed—whose peaceable interaction the city fathers fostered through policies of civic détente, that aimed tactfully and pragmatically to suppress the rhetoric of political difference and religious dissension. As will be obvious, my essay thus inversely complements the topic

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1 On the 'Book of Nature' as an expression of the belief that all of creation, having been written by the finger of God, accords with Holy Writ and likewise certifies the existence of an all-powerful *Deus Artifex*, see Jorink E., *Het Boeck der Natuere: Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods Schepping, 1575–1715* (Leiden: 2007), esp. 13–185; and idem, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715*, trans. A. J. Vanderjagt, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 191 (Leiden – Boston: 2010), esp. 1–179. On divine artifice as expressed in the wonders of creation, and the allied conception of nature as artist, see Daston L. – Park K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: 1998) 255–301.

FIGURE 11.1   *Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius*, Beached Whale in the Vicinity
              of Katwijk (*1598*). *Engraving, 31.7 × 42.8 cm. London, British Museum. By
              permission of the British Museum.*

FIGURE 11.2   *Jacob Matham*, Beached Whale at Wijk aan Zee (*1601*). *Engraving, 31 × 43 cm.
              London, British Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

of this volume—anthropomorphosis—by examining two examples of partial resistance to this impulse: the prints' designers and commentators, instead of apprehending nature solely in human terms, choose also to appreciate its wonders per se without personifying them. They treat them as indices of divine artifice, which is most clearly discerned in the prodigious, as opposed to portentous, works of nature. In conclusion, I offer as a counter-example one of Goltzius's signature *poëterijen* (poetic fictions), the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1593, a *penwerck* (pen-work) replete with natural prodigies that are viewed through an anthropomorphic lens [Fig. 11.11].

The earlier of the two prints, *Beached Whale in the Vicinity of Katwijk*, engraved by Jacob Matham after a large drawing executed *nae t' leven* (after the life) by his stepfather, the celebrated draughtsman Hendrick Goltzius, depicts the whale beached at Berkheij between Scheveningen and Katwijk on 3 February 1598 [Fig. 11.1].[2] The second print, *Beached Whale at Wijk aan Zee*, engraved by Matham after one of his own drawings made *nae t' leven*, records the whale beached at Wijk aan See on 19 December 1601 [Fig. 11.2].[3] The two whales, one lying toward the east, the other toward the west, have attracted a mixed viewership: in 1598, there are city folk (the well-dressed couple watching as a man measures the animal's *membrum*), country folk (the couple at far left accompanied by a pointing boy), and aristocrats (the three horsemen being addressed by a quartet of fishermen); in addition to onlookers, there are figures who climb, measure, or harvest the creature, cutting its blubber and gathering its *tranen* (oily droplets). A similar cast of characters has assembled in 1601, amongst whom one peers into the beast's mouth, while another clambers up its head to examine the eye. Both in 1598 and 1601, the beholders respond attentively to the curious sight that has drawn them to this place (some from

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2   On the *Beached Whale in the Vicinity of Katwijk*, see Melion W., "Introduction, Memory, Cognition, and Image Production", in Küchler S. – Melion W. (eds.), *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation* (Washington, D.C. – London: 1991) 19–22; Widerkehr L. (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Jacob Matham*, ed. H. Leeflang, 3 parts (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: 2008) II 135–137, no. 202; and Leesberg M. (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 145–1700: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. H. Leeflang, 4 parts (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel – Amsterdam: 2012) IV 16–21, no. 632. This print was copied at least three times between 1598 and 1605, on which see ibidem 16–17, nos. 632b, 632f, and 632g. On the drawing by Goltzius that served as Matham's modello, see Reznicek E. K. J., *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1961) I 442–443, no. 419.

3   On the *Beached Whale at Wijk aan Zee*, see Melion, "Introduction: Memory, Cognition, and Image Production", in Küchler – Melion (eds.), *Images of Memory* 22–23; and Widerkehr (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Jacob Matham*, ed. Leeflang, II 138–139, no. 203.

far away, as the carts and carriages attest). The paired subscriptions, as we shall soon see, project onto these engaged but otherwise impartial beholders two distinct sorts of response: the one text either mocks or fears the colossus and the events it presages; the other admires and appreciates it not as a dramatis persona but as something divinely manufactured. The latter response (in Dutch), unlike the former (in Latin), refrains from anthropomorphizing the whale; the Dutch verses, composed of quatrains rather than distychs, take up far more space than the Latin and make their case more descriptively, as well as less discursively. Moreover, the letters are larger and written more boldy, so that the Dutch texts qua text predominate visually. In what follows, I concentrate on this Dutch reading of the *visschen* stranded at Katwijk and Wijk aan Zee: what are we asked to see and know about the whale; how are we prompted to read it as a page from the Book of Nature?

Published respectively by Goltzius and Matham, these spectacular plates were amongst the grandest issued by the Goltzius workshop. The long Dutch inscriptions were furnished by Karel van Mander, the Flemish emigré, poet, painter, print designer, and fellow citizen of Haarlem, who was then at work on his monumental *Schilder-Boeck* (*Book on Picturing*), the art theoretical and historical treatise that would establish Goltzius's canonical status as an inimitable master of *teyckenconst* (art of delineation).[4] Commissioned by Goltzius and/or Matham, these inscriptions, counterpointed by shorter Latin texts composed by the humanist poet Theodorus Screvelius, assistant director of the Latin School of Haarlem, are essential to the prints' semantic fabric. As major productions of the most renowned engraver's workshop in the Northern Netherlands, these prints implicitly proclaim the excellence of Goltzius's burin-hand, wielded in emulation of earlier masters such as Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert and Cornelis Cort, and bequeathed to Matham by his master Goltzius. In subject and handling, then, these prints appeal to a taste for the *curieus* (curious), exemplifying contemporary usage of the term to mark what appears strange, in the sense of rare, alien, or abnormal—that is, the whale, an unusual sea creature, displayed on shore under exceptional circumstances—but also to characterize what is exquisite, in the sense of expertly and conscientiously worked—that is, Matham's plate, which from

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4 On *teyckenconst* in Van Mander's "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius", see Melion W. S., *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's 'Schilder-Boeck'* (Chicago – London: 1991) 43–51. The "Life of Goltzius" exemplifies the theory and practice of *tecykenconst* peculiar to the Low Countries, in Book IV of the *Schilder-Boeck,* "Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hoogh-duytsche schilders", on which see ibidem 60–91; and Miedema H. (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1998) V 175–225.

close up resolves into concentric hatches, swelling and tapering along their ambit, that are the basic unit of Goltzius's signature burin-hand.[5] Accordingly, Matham's beached-whale prints can be seen to function as epitomes of both natural and artisanal curiosity. They also operate, as will soon become evident, as devotional images, reconciling the claims of divine and human artifice upon our powers of attention and our perceptual and spiritual faculties.

Although scholars have sometimes identified the landscape format of Matham's two engravings as unprecedented, they derive in both subject and composition from earlier topical prints and broadsheets, such as Jan Wierix's plate of ca. 1577, documenting the three whales stranded near the village of Ter Heide between 12 and 23 November of that year [Fig. 11.3].[6] Part of a pod of 'thirteen sea monsters', as the collateral Dutch and French texts tell us, these whales, one of which has just beached, prompt several armed onlookers to flee. Their patent fear and alarm amplify the threatening message of the inscriptions, perhaps composed by Willem van Haecht, that interpret the whales as divine warnings against 'the peril and distress that encroached and continue to encroach [upon the Netherlands] from hidden enemies, [in the form of] great monsters'.[7] The swelling waves that seem to hurl the whales onto the littoral, like the terrified witnesses running for their lives, allude to the famous portents of the final days enumerated by Christ himself in *Luke* 21:25–26: 'and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring sea and waves; men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come

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5   On this double sense of the term 'curieus', which can mean 'merkwaardig', 'eigenaardig', 'raar', or 'vreemdsoortig', as in 'curieuse konsten', but also 'zorgvuldig' or 'nauwkeurig', see Knuttel J. A. N. (ed.), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal. Derde deel, tweede stuk* (The Hague – Leiden: 1916; reprint ed., Leiden: 1993), cols. 2171–2172.

6   On Wierix's *Whales Stranding at Ter Heyde*, see Ruyven-Zeman Z. van – Leesberg M. (comps.), *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: The Wierix Family*, eds. J. van der Stock – M. Leesberg, 10 parts (Rotterdam: 2004) IX 62–63, no. 1932.

7   In Dutch: 'Van dees derthien seemonsters, de drije versanden / Waer deur ons Godt waerschouden tperijckel en noot / Dat ons was naeckende, ende noch is voorhanden / Deur gheveijsde vijanden: als monsteren groot'. In French: 'De treise monstres tels de mer, les trois surprent, / Le sable est court arrest, de Dieu certain presage, / De nostre mal passe et encore apparent, / Si tout faint ennemij comme monstre on nencage'. Signatures identify 'Johan Wierics' as engraver and 'W. van Haecht' as publisher. On business relations between Wierix and Van Haecht, see Roey J. van, "Het Antwerpse geslacht Van Haecht (Verhaecht): tafereelmakers, schilders, kunsthandelaars", in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, 2 vols. (Ghent: 1967–1968) I 216–228, esp. 223; and Mauquoy-Hendrickx M., *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, 3 vols. (Brussels: 1978–1983) III.2 516–517, 520.
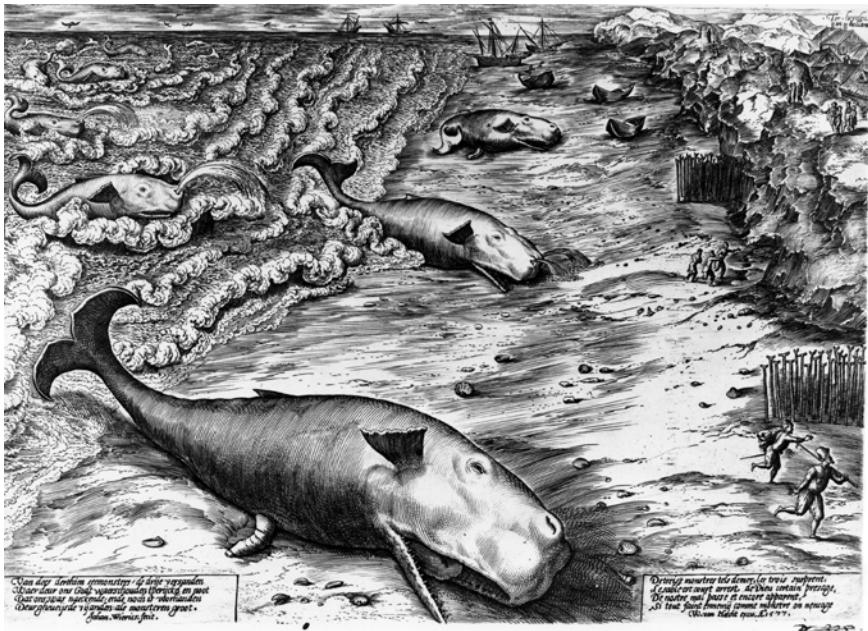
FIGURE 11.3   *Jan Wierix*, Whales Stranding at Ter Heyde (*1577*). *Engraving, 22.2 × 30.4 cm.*
                Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.

upon the whole world'.[8] The print is thus implicitly eschatological, as the references to endangerment and affliction in the texts at lower left and right, serve further to suggest. Provoked by political tensions that ensued upon negotiation of the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, these admonitory quatrains pertain, as Simon Schama has observed, to the Spanish Fury of 1576 and the persistent threat posed by the Spanish army in Flanders.[9] The three Wierix brothers—Jan, Hieronymus, and Antoon II—were Lutheran sympathizers before 1585, when Antwerp fell to Alessandro Farnese and reverted to Roman Catholicism.[10]

Even prints that purport to be documentary, such as the view of one of three whales caught in the river Schelde on 2 July 1577, invite a similarly cau-

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8   Unless otherwise noted, all biblical citations are drawn from Challoner R. (ed.), *The Holy, Douay Rheims Version, Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Baltimore: 1899; reprint ed., Rockford: 1971).

9   Schama S., *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: 1987) 137–138.

10   The Wierixes are identified as Lutheran adherents in a list compiled by the civil guard of Antwerp, on which see Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Estampes des Wierix* III.2 542, no. 38.
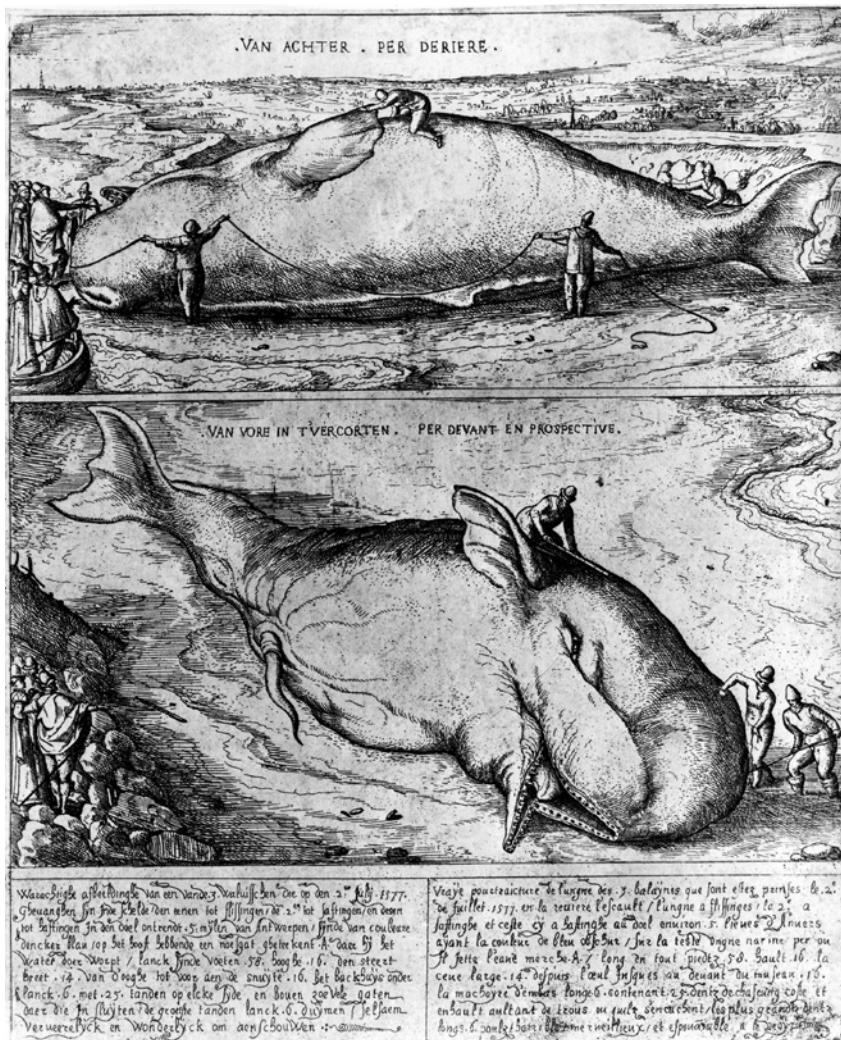
FIGURE 11.4   *Anonymous,* True Portrayal of One of the Three Whales Caught in the River Schelde on 2 July 1577 *(24 July 1577). Etching, 19.4 × 23.5 cm. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.*

tionary reading [Fig. 11.4].[11] Having provided information about the whale's color, size, number of teeth, and place of capture, the inscriptions, again in

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11   On this topical print, see Rijn G. van (ed.), *Atlas van Stolk. Katalogus der historie-, spot- en zinneprenten betrekkelijk de geschiedenis van Nederland*, 11 vols. (Amsterdam: 1895–1931) I 271, no. 627; and Deinse, A. B. van, "Over de potvisschen in Nederland gestrand tusschen de jaren 1531–1788", *Zoologische mededeelingen* 4 (1918) 22–50, esp. 35–36.

Dutch and French, conclude by characterizing the animal as a 'strange', 'wondrous', but also 'fearful' sight, which is to say, portentous and foreboding.[12] The print of the small pilot whale stranded near Zandvoort in 1594, engraved and published by Goltzius in that year, contains two inscriptions: composed by Cornelis Schonaeus, rector of the Latin School of Haarlem, the Latin text plays on the antithesis of the adjectives *scita* and *deforme*, extolling the 'judicious art' Goltzius demonstrates in presenting a 'misshapen monster' to our view, whereas the two Dutch rondelets, added in letterpress, state that 'many folk think it may portend something extraordinary', and closes with the injunction that 'we must always hope for the best from God' [Fig. 11.5].[13] The Dutch verses identify the fish as a tunny, not a whale, but nevertheless interpret it as a cetacean portent. They also note that two creatures beached on this very spot, the first on 2 March 1566, the second 21 November 1594: the latter, a male, was already dead when it washed on shore; the former, a female, thrashed clamorously upon landing. The implication is that the new stranding heralds events as epochal as those of 1566, when the Compromise of Nobles and the first Iconoclasm took place.[14]

Like the Wierix print, the print published by Goltzius dubs the whale 'monster', construing it as an omen of God's will and assaying its appearance as a vaticinal phenomenon. By contrast, Matham's prints for the most part eschew any reference to portents, instead insisting that the beached whales are nothing more nor less than *wonder wercken* (wondrous works) of God, symptoms of his boundless powers as *artifex* (artificer) [Figs. 11.1 & 11.2]. With regard to the engraving of 1598, Van Mander classifies the whale as fish ('visch') rather than monster, describes the violent storm that drove it ashore, records its measure-

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12   In Dutch: 'selsaem verveerelyck en wonderlyck om aenschouwen'. In French: 'horrible, merveilleux et espouvantable a le veoyez'.

13   'Ceruleus profert immania corpora pontus; / Quorum unum hic cernis depictum candide lector, / Inventum Batavo deforme in littore monstrum: / Quod tibi spectandum scita dat Goltzius arte'. On the *Female Pilot Whale Stranded at Zandvoort*, see Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. Leeflang, IV 14–15, no. 631.

14   'Als men duysent, vijf hondert, heeft gheschreven, / Ende vier en tneghentich, in de maent / November, eenentWintich, aenghedreven / Quam t'Sandtvoort, in Hollandt, dus van ghedaent, / Eenen dooden Visch, die men eenen Walvisch Waent: / Maer Tanijn ghenaemt Wordt van den Zee-luyden, / Menich meent oft yet Wonders Wil beduyden. // Tweedden Martij ses en tsestich, oock strande / Daer eenen sulcken, die met groot misbaer / En gheruysch, noch levende quam te lande, / Dien was manlijck, desen vroulijck, end maer / Twintich voeten, en den anderen daer / Te vooren, was lanck twee en veertich voeten: / T'best altijdt van Godt wy verhopen moeten'.
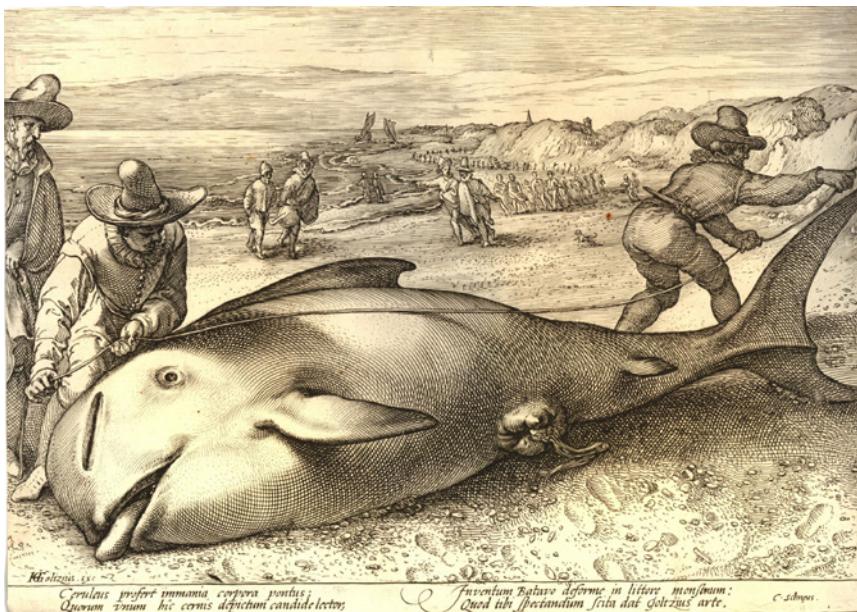
FIGURE 11.5   *Hendrick Goltzius*, Female Pilot Whale Beached near Zandvoort (*1594*).
                   Engraving, 18.5 × 26 cm. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.

ments along with the date and place of stranding, and encourages us to see it
as evidence of God's supreme authority and to exalt in the realization of his
omnipotence:

> The salty waves, profoundly unsettled by the stormy air, stiffly pitched by
> the winds, have thus washed a fish onto the shore by Catwijck, causing us
> to know from out of the sea's depths the wondrous work of God.
>
> Measuring fifty-six feet long, each foot eleven inches, and thirty-three
> wide, on the third day of February, sixteen hundred less two, as recorded,
> the species of whale being known from these measurements.
>
> With an astonished heart, many a person beheld it, and many a tongue
> and voice were impelled to exalt the Lord: for he whose highest value
> transcends all praise, may never sufficiently be lauded.[15]

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15   'De soute golven wreed afgrondich omghewoelt / door onwedersche locht, met winden
      stijf ghesmeten, / hebben dusch eenen visch bij Catwijck aenghespoelt / ons t' wonder
      werck van Godt wt diept der zee doen weten. // Elf duijmsche voeten ses en vijftich langh
      ghemeten, / den drij en dertich dick, in sporckel derden dach / sestien hondert min twee

The Latin subscription, comprising three diptychs, functions as a counterpoint to Van Mander's far longer text: whereas the latter is decriptive and urges the beholder to take note of the whale's awesome dimensions and circumstances, and to construe these as evidence of the divine artificer's limitless powers of creation, Screvelius's three distychs are suffused with other kinds of emotion—fear and anxiety, for example—having to do with the minatory intentions divinely forecast by this prodigy. Unlike Van Mander, who reads the whale exegetically in light of *Psalm* 18 [19]:1 ('The heavens shew forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of his hand'), *Jeremiah* 10:2 ('[…] and be not afraid of the signs of heaven, which the heathens fear'), and *Romans* 1:20 ('For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also, and divinity'), Screvelius reads the whale in the manner of Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Seneca, and the Stoics, who construe natural wonders as 'harbingers of dire disaster'.[16] Indeed, Screvelius even purports to address the pagan gods: 'Hurled ashore by the bluegreen sea, a huge whale (gods forfend [your] threats) laid eyes upon the strands of Catwijck; driven to the headland by wind and its own motion, this terror of the deep Atlantic, a baleen whale, subsides onto dry land, captured by the sand; which [whale] we [now] give to paper and to fame, a matter fit for the populace to report'.[17] The conjunction of this text and Van Mander's heightens the Christian character of his account, which celebrates and venerates what God has wrought, rather than taking fright at its import.

The print of 1601 is even more explicit in its refusal to interpret the whale as portent:

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men schreef, maer hoe gheheten / onder walvisch ghesclacht men sulcke tellen plach. // Met een verwondert hert hem menich oogh aensach, / des menich tongh en mont den heere moste loven: / want nemmermeer ghenoegh men hem gheprijsen mach / wiens hooghste weerd alleen, gaet alle lof te boven'. These verses are signed with Karel van Mander's motto, 'Een is nodich'.

16   Cicero M. T., *De natura deorum*, ed.–trans. H. Rackham (London – Cambridge, Mass.: 1933) II, v, as quoted in Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature* 115. On Cicero's *De natura deorum*, Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, and Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* as sources of a fearful response to the divine *vestigia* written upon the so-called Book of Nature, see ibidem 39–40, 115–116. On the importance of the biblical passages cited above to Lutheran and Reformed readings of the Book of Nature, see ibidem 36–37, 66–67, 135–137.

17   'Ingens caeruleo iactatus gurgite cetus / (Dij prohibete minas) Catthorum littora vidit, // Qualis Atlantiaci terror, Ballaena profundi, / Quum vento motuve suo telluris ad oras // Pellitur, et sicca subsidit, captus arena: / Quem chartis famaeque damus, populoque loquendum'.

> Near Wijk aan See, toward the West, on the nineteenth of December in
> the year sixteen hundred and one, a great sperm whale ('potwalvisch')
> stranded on the beach, just as may be seen in this print. Sixty-three feet
> in length, each foot eleven inches long, thirty-eight in width. Ocean briny
> in your foaming, what malevolent offspring have you delivered to us citi-
> zens? Is it a threat, a warning, the sort of thing that customarily frightens
> idle folk? God warns us sufficiently in his holy word, to which we willingly
> and obediently submit. Let the lofty name of him whose wondrous works
> attest his omnipotence be praised far and wide.[18]

Viewing the whale as a thing of nature, born of the sea, Van Mander sees
through it to its maker, whose agency the creature signifies. Whereas Holy Writ
is the admonitory medium that broadcasts the will of God, the image of the
whale, as Van Mander avers, divulges the Lord's powers of artifice. The Latin
inscription situates the whale within a mythological rather than Christian
frame of reference. Screvelius emphasizes the monster's terrible singularity, in
particular calling attention (somewhat ludicrously) to its sizeable priapic *mem-
brum*; moreover, just as in 1598 he urged the viewer to see the shore through
the eyes of the whale ('cetus [...] Catthorum littora vidit'), so here he converts
the whale into a protagonist of sorts that struggles against the sandy strand
until its guts fatally rupture ('littoris oras rasit [...] at impresso mox rumpi-
tur ilia ventre'). He expertly utilizes progymnasmata to characterize the whale
and its environs, narrativize the creature's moira, and conjure up its struggle
against the elements and ineluctable demise: ironic synecdoche ('membrosius
ipso [...] genitali pube Priapo') evokes the whale's immensity; prosopopoeia
puts us in the place of the hamlet that senses the leviathan's presence ('vicus
Lemi Neptunius [...] prospectat'); ethopoeia and pathopoeia make us feel
the creature's plight as it fights for its life, resists fate, and finally succumbs
('littoris oras rasit, et attonito fatalibus haesit arenis corpore'). These effects
are enhanced by the conjunction of terms ridiculous and sublime ('membro-
sius' and 'ingens') that indicates how low this once awe-inspiring *monstrum*

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18   'Bij wijck op see, na t'west, Desember neghentien / Iaer sestien hondert een, op t'strant de
      see quam ruijmen / Potwalvisch groot, ghelijck in druck men hier mach sien, / lanck drij
      en t'sestich voet, en elck voet van elf duijmen. // Dick achtendertich voet: maer Ocean
      int schuijmen, / heel pekelick wat brenght u borgher ons aenboort? / ist dreijghingh, of
      waerschouw, of ijdel volx costuijmen / hem hier verschricken in, welck niet gheschieden
      hoort? // Godt waerschouwt al ghenook ons in sijn heylich woort, / Daer elck goetwillich
      most ghehoorsaem onder buijghen / Den lof sijns hooghen naems verbreijdt sy voort in
      voort, / wiens wonder wercken groot sijn heerlijckheijt betuijghen'.

horrendum has fallen. (In the picture, this same effect is produced by the juxta-position of the onlookers' Lilliputian footprints to the massive but ultimately ephemeral 'footprint' impressed into the littoral by the whale's thrashing). In other respects, however, the Latin verses this time complement the Dutch, for they refrain from perusing the creature as a portent, by turns partially legible and insistently opaque: 'A monster horrific, misshapen, immense, in its gen-itals more greatly endowed than the Hellespontine Priapus himself. Where: the Neptunian hamlet lying to the west of Beverwijck, which looks from the sun's rising in the east toward the town of Haarlem. The vast maritime despoiler grazed the shore's edge, its body confounded by the fatal sands, whereupon its entrails soon burst from the crushed belly'.[19]

Van Mander, in his refusal to personalize the whale, describes it in the man-ner of a Christian exegete and meditator, but also of a natural historian record-ing a specimen. His texts closely correspond to the acts of viewing upon which both prints dwell: the *Beached Whale at Wijk aan Zee*, for instance, includes numerous beholders intently gazing at the dead whale, or watching others prod, climb, and measure it [Fig. 11.2]. Distilled in his references to 'wonder werck' (1598) and 'wonder wercken' (1601), Van Mander's emphasis on won-der and workmanship, like his collateral references to the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature, surely derives from article two of the *Belydenisse des gheloofs* (*Confession of Faith*, commonly known as the *Belgian Confession*), the 37 articles of faith composed by the theologian Guido de Brès as a doctrinal summa of the Dutch Reformed Church. First promulgated in 1561–1562, the *Belydenisse* circulated very widely, and as Erik Jorink has amply demonstrated, it strongly influenced Dutch thinking about the Book of Nature. Article two would have been well known to Goltzius and Matham (the former probably Catholic, the latter definitely so), as well as to Van Mander (a Mennonite), and of course to the beached whale prints' likely viewers, literate in Latin and/or Dutch:

> We know him [God] by two means. First, by the creation, preservation, and government of the universe, since that universe is before our eyes like a beautiful book in which all creatures, great and small, are as letters 'to make us ponder the invisible things of God: his eternal power and divin-ity', as the apostle Paul says in *Romans* 1:20. All these things are enough to

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19 'Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, membrosius ipso / Hellespontiaco genitali pube Priapo. // Qua Bavarum vicus Lemi Neptunius urbem / Pronus ad occasum, rutilo prospectat ab ortu, // Immanis pelagi populator, littoris oras / Rasit, et attonito fatalibus haesit arenis // Corpore; at impresso mox rumpitur ilia ventre'.

convict men and to leave them without excuse. Second, he makes himself known to us more openly by his holy and divine word, as much as we need in this life, for his glory and for the salvation of his own.[20]

The term 'wonder', as Jorink shows, was often preferred to 'mirakel' or 'miraculum', which smacked of the Catholic cult of saints and miracles, but in practice the word designates the full spectrum of praeternatural or extra-natural phenomena, encompassing what Augustine in *De civitate Dei* (XXI 8) had dubbed *miracula Dei*, that is, everything extraordinary in nature.[21] For most of Van Mander's contemporaries, as Jorink further indicates, the 'letters' constitutive of the *liber naturae* could be decoded only by recourse to the scriptural *liber gratiae*, which is to say that the Book of Nature was to be viewed or, better, read exegetically.[22] *Romans* 1:20 provided the basis for this conception of natural exegesis that crosses confessional boundaries, uniting Philipp Melanchthon, John Calvin, Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis-Marly, Guillaume de Salluste, Seigneur du Bartas, and Hugo Grotius. Melanchthon succinctly summarizes this point of view as follows: '[Only] when the spirit is strengthened by the true and right conviction of God, and of the Creation through the Word of God itself, is it both useful and pleasant to seek the signs of God in nature too and to collect arguments that confirm that God exists'.[23]

But Van Mander diverges from this consensus in his conviction, clearly voiced in the *Beached Whale at Wijk aan Zee* of 1601, that the kind of wonder here engendered (like that inspired by the stranding of 1598) neither warns nor reprimands, threatens nor prophesies, but rather, fills every good Christian with feelings of astonishment and the desire to praise the Creator. For the majority of his elite contemporaries, on the contrary, the whale, like other natural prodigies, would have been appreciated as a symptom of divine intention—a *signum*, *ostentum*, *praesagium*, or *portentum*—categories of showing complementary to *monstrum* (from *monstrare*, 'to show, reveal, make known').[24] This

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20   Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, trans. Vanderjagt 20; this passage translates article two from the 1619 edition, as transcribed in Bakhuizen van den Brink J. N. (ed.), *De Nederlandse belijdenisgeschriften* (Amsterdam: 1976) 73.

21   On Augustine's *City of God* as a key source of the notion that pious wonder is an appropriate response to the various kinds and degrees of natural *miracula*, see Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, trans. Vanderjagt 8–10.

22   On the crucial relation between the *liber naturae* and *liber gratiae*, see ibidem 33–107, esp. 33–75.

23   Ibidem 44, as translated from *Corpus reformatorum* XXI 369.

24   On this family of terms, all of which are related to *miraculum* and *prodigium*, see ibidem 113–114; and, with specific reference to 'ostentum', 'portentum', 'monstrum', and 'prodigium',

is not to say that divination, judicial astrology, or other predictive instruments, all of which assume that divine providence can be parsed, were simply countenanced, for these activities would have seemed presumptive and even idolatrous, in contravention of *Deuteronomy* 18:10–12 ('Neither let there be found among you any one that [...] consulteth soothsayers or observeth dreams and omens') and *Jeremiah* 10:2 ('Learn not according to the ways of the Gentiles: and be not afraid of the signs of heaven').[25] And yet, there was widespread agreement that such signs, even if they could only be understood in general terms, were indeed signs, and as such, providential. Jacob Cats later summarized this point of view in a booklet, the *Aenmerckinghe op de tegenwoordige steert-sterre* (*Commentary on the Latter-Day Tail-Star*) of 1619, on a related type of divine prodigy, the imposing comet of 1618, which he took for a sign that God would do 'something exceptional', setting forth an 'example' of divine omnipotence, as a call to probity and moral reform.[26] Another standard position was taken by the Reformed theologian Gisbertus Voetius, who states in *De signis, de naturae miraculis, ostentis et prodigiis* (*On Signs, Miracles of Nature, Portents, and Prodigies*) of ca. 1648–1669, that any such signs, so long as they resemble biblical portents, must be accepted as God-given messages.[27] Cats, Voetius, and many others construed these messages more often than not as admonitory or minatory.[28]

By denying the whale's value as presage, even as he elevates its value as work, Van Mander forecloses the claims made in polemical tracts such as the pamphlet entitled "Whale of Berkheij: That is, a description of the great fish stranded at Berkheij in the year 1598 on the third of February, with an explanation of the things that followed upon it [...]".[29] Interpreting the whale as an

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see Céard J., *La nature et les prodiges. L'insolite au XVIe siècle, en France*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 158 (Geneva: 1977) 39–40, 439.

25   On these biblical injunctions against prognostication, see Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, trans. Vanderjagt 117–124.

26   As cited in ibidem 133, on the basis of Cats J., *Aenmerckinghe op de tegenwoordighe Steer-sterre*, ed. G. J. Johannes (Utrecht: 1986) 79. On this booklet, see ibidem 9–35; and Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, trans. Vanderjagt 131–134.

27   Voetius Gisbertus, *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum partes I–V* (Utrecht – Amsterdam, Johannes van Waesberge: 1648–1669) III 923. On Voetius, see Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature*, trans. Vanderjagt, 64–68, 136–138.

28   On the inclination to read *signa* as divine *admonita*, see ibidem 109–142.

29   Anonymous and undated, a single copy of this pamphlet is preserved in the Bibliotheek van 's Rijks Museum van Natuurlijke Historie te Leiden (No. 2700—Mamm.): *Walvisch van Berckhey: Dat is, Eene beschrijvinghe des grooten Vischs, die tot Berckhey ghestrandet is Anno 1598. den 3. Februarij, met eene verclaringhe der dinghen die daer naer ghevolght*

auspice of the bloody Spanish invasion of the Duchy of Cleves, the pamphle-
teer recounts how he had hoped initially that it might signal God's intentions
toward Spain, rather than the Netherlands:

> And so in the year ninety-eight the sea brought landward a great whale,
> terrifying in aspect, frightful to behold in the eyes of every man and
> woman: I too was astonished to see this behemoth ('ghedrocht') that the
> sea had stranded upon the shore of Berckey. It was well understood by
> all that something strange and wonderful would follow thereafter, and
> that God was incensed; but noone enlarged upon what that calamity
> might be—until from out of Brabant there came a gloss, an answer fully
> unfurled, drawn from the poet as if he had spoken with the Lord God
> himself.
>
> I fall stone still; I halt my pen, hold my tongue, and hope that the
> Lord in his good time may reveal that he caused this great monster to
> be stranded not as an ill omen of his intention to subject these lands
> before a huge, cruel, and bloodthirsty beast seeking nothing less than
> with fire and sword to lay waste to our noble Netherlands, and to despoil
> it, in the manner of a whale, which having seized something in its jaws,
> then rends and gulps it down, digests and utterly destroys it.[30]

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zijn: Met noch een cort verhael der geschiedenissen, die van den lesten Augusti 1598, tot nu
toe verloopen zijn int Vorstendom Cleve ende omliggende vrije Landen, door de aencomste
van den Spaenschen Leger, hare ongehoorde wreetheyt tegen de Cleefsche ende hare Steden,
die sy als vyanden innemen voor den Coninck van Spagnen. T'samen eenen Brief van des
Keysers Ghesant, met d'Admirants antwoordt. On this booklet, see Van Deinse, "Over de
potvisschen in Nederland gestrand" 36–39. On the whale stranded by the fishing village of
Berkhey, see Kraaijenga A. E., "Een beeld van waarheid. Rond de stranding van een potvis",
Teylers Museum Magazijn 2, 2 (1984) 1–4; and Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches* 130–132.

30   As cited in Van Deinse, "Over de potvisschen in Nederland gestrand" 37–38: 'Derhalven
als int Jaer van t'neghentich en acht, / De Zee een Walvisch groot op het landt hadd' ghe-
bracht, Die grouwelijck t'aensien, en schrick'lijck was t'aenschouwen, / In d'ooghen van
elck een, beyd' Mannen en der Vrouwen: / Soo was ick med' verbaest, aensiende dit ghe-
drocht, / Dwelck te Berckhey de Zee hadd' op het landt ghebrocht. / Elck een heeft wel
verstaen dat hier op woude volghen / Wat vreemts en wonderbaers, en dat Godt was ver-
bolghen. / Maer wat het wesen soud' heeft niemant uytghebolt, / Tot datter uyt Brabandt
een glossa quam gherolt, / Daer in t' volle bescheyt niet anders wordt ontloken, / Dan of
de dichter hadd/ met Godt den Heer ghesproken. // Ick sweegh vast still', ick hielt mijn
penn' end' oock mijn mondt, / Hopende dat de Heer' soud' toonen t'sijner stondt, / Dat
hy dit monster groot hadd' in Hollandt doen stranden, / Niet als een voorspoeck, dat hij
woude dese Landen / Brenghen onder het groot, wreet, en bloet-dorstich dier, / Dwelck
niet anders en soeckt, dan door het zweert en vyer, / Ons edele Nederlandt, woest ende

Although he concedes that the monster may indeed be a sign that God would subject the Netherlands to a 'great, cruel, and bloodthirsty beast [...] like unto a whale that rends, consumes, digests, and totally destroys whatever it seizes in its jaws', he then admits, 'so did I yet hope that God would make the Spanish villain languish with pain and grief, just as did the whale after two days and three nights [on shore]'.[31] Whereas, unsure of the whale's precise significance, the pamphleteer remains certain of its portentousness, Van Mander refuses to anthropomorphize the whale, stripping it of its status as omen, and instead seeing it as God's *wonder werck*, the product of his inimitable artisanship. Moreover, as he avows, this divine deed compels the beholder to engage in laudatory prayer, for filled with wonder at such a sight, our 'tongue and mouth must praise the Lord'.

Van Mander's disavowal of augury may also be construed as a refusal to confessionalize the strandings, that is, to interpret them in a Lutheran way as harbingers of the days of divine vengeance, of Godsent distress in city and country, and of the Lord's wrath upon the people.[32] As Robin Barnes has argued, amongst the great reformers, Luther was unique in the virtually doctrinal sanction he gave to the perusal of heavensent portents, as also in his endorsement of what Barnes calls a 'powerful sense of eschatological expectancy'.[33] With regard to the divine source of natural omens, there were several proof texts for the Lutheran position that such phenomena are heralds of God's intention and judgment: in the prophets, *Joel* 2:28–32, the Lord's assurance that he 'will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth'; in the Gospels, *Luke* 21:29–30, the parabolic similitude of the fig tree that shoots forth fruit, just as the Lord broadcasts dire warnings.[34] If anything, this proved more true of Luther's later adherents: the philosopher Job Fincel, for example, a close follower of Philipp Melanchthon, published three substantial treatises on marvels and wondrous *indicia* between 1556 and 1567. Here he cites *Joel* 2, along with *Matthew* 24

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leech te maken, / Als een Walvisch, die t'gheen dat hy crijght in sijn kaken, / Verscheurt, inswelght, verteert, en gantschelijck vernielt'.

31   Ibidem 38: 'Ick hebb' altijdt ghehoopt, dat Godt den Spaenschen fielt / Soude met pijn en smert van hongher doen versmachten'. The pamphleteer then proposes that the whale's death throes, which lasted two days and three nights, be read as a sign of the wrathful punishment God intends to impose upon Spain: 'Ghelijck dien Walvisch nae twee daghen en drie nachten'.

32   On Lutheran preoccupation with the eschaton and its portents—natural, political, and ecclesiastical—see Barnes R. B., *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: 1988) 36–126.

33   Ibidem 3.

34   On *Joel* 2:28–32 as an eschatological proof text, see ibidem 89; on *Luke* 21:29–30, see 45–46.

and *Luke* 21, to justify his conviction that history is nothing more that 'a series of miraculous tokens, whose accumulation points to the end of the world'.[35] These natural signs, of which there were various species—*prodigium, monstrum, portentum, ostentum, miraculum*, et al.—are held to presage calamities that likewise announce the second coming of Christ.[36] Barnes cites the Lutheran theologian Andreas Musculus, co-author of the *Formula of Concord*, who believed that more presages had appeared in the last forty years than had previously been known during the entire history of humankind. Musculus urges his readers ever to be watchful, for 'the greater and the more terrifying the prodigies, the greater the disasters to follow'.[37] Van Mander, in curbing the prophetic impulse, also checks the reflex of Lutheran eschatology. The call to revere the whale as evidence of the Creator and his workmanship is exegetical in the most general way: confessionally indeterminate, it tacitly functions as a tonic against the sort of religious division that a more doctrinal reading of the beached whale as portent would have implied. If Van Mander, diverging from the tract of 1598, refrains from viewing the whale as a prognostic of political discord, he also forbears from glossing it as a marker of civic strife and confessional discord.

The religious situation of Haarlem, in which three main religious groups—Reformed, Catholics, and Mennonites—operated in tandem, occupying collateral religious spheres even while interacting socially across confessional lines, provides the local circumstances for Matham's prints of 1598 and 1601. Haarlem was distinctive, as Joke Spaans has argued in her classic study of the city's plural religious identities: 'The ecclesiastical communities, the Reformed included, formed closed circles centered on their characteristic doctrine and devotion. For most persons, Church membership, or alternatively, the refusal to join a Church, stood apart from social life as it was lived daily. Whereas society was Christian, its contours were not determined by the public Church. This situation was exceptional in Europe'.[38] Van Mander's insistence that the whales not be read as dire political portents, but more generally as wonders of

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35   As cited in ibidem 90, which in turn quotes Schilling H., "Job Fincel und die Zeichen der Endzeit", in Brückner W. (ed.), *Volkserzählung und Reformation: Ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus* (Berlin: 1974) 326–392, esp. 361.

36   Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* 91.

37   As cited in ibiden 92, which in turn quotes Spieker C. W., *Lebensgeschichte des Andreas Musculus* (Frankfurt a. O.: 1858; reprint ed., Nieuwkoop: 1964) 224–225.

38   Spaans J., *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620,* Hollands Historische Reeks 11 (The Hague: 1989) 197.

nature, of *natura artifex*, and of the divine *artifex naturae*, implicitly characterizes them as phenomena resistant to a Lutheran interpretation, but more than this, intimates that they altogether transcend the kind of confessional readings that pit Catholic Spain against the Reformed Netherlands, respectively metaphorized by the 'enmity' between whales and shore.

The creature is instead seen to evoke, by dint of the divinely mandated stranding that makes it visible, the *mirabilia Domini* celebrated in *Psalms* 103 and 104, and the power of God to overcome any difficulty and of faith to transcend all persecution, affirmed in *Psalm* 73. The phrase 'wonder wercken' is directly translated from the psalms' praises of God's 'wonderful works' ('mirabilia eius'), which the psalmist interprets not as portentous indicators of wrathful judgment, but on the contrary, as expressions of the Lord's many and glorious mercies to the 'children of men'.[39] *Psalm* 106:21–25 are typical in their commendation of the providential wisdom and inventiveness discernible everywhere in creation, not least the 'wonders in the deep':

> Let the mercies of the Lord give glory to him: and his wonderful works to the children of men.
>
> And let them sacrifice the sacrifice of praise: and declare his works with joy.
>
> They that go down to the sea in ships, doing business in the great waters:
>
> These have seen the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.
>
> He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind: and the waves thereof were lifted up.

Verse 25 glorifies the power of God to control wind and waves, and accordingly, it recalls Van Mander's description of the storms that washed the whales onto the shore at Berkheij near Katwijk ('de soute golven wreed afgrondich omghewoelt') and Wijk aan Zee ('op t'strant de see quam ruijmen'). *Psalm* 103:24–27 are especially apposite, for they single out the creatures of the sea, largest amongst which is leviathan, as manifestations of divine potency and dominion: 'How great are thy works, O Lord? Thou hast made all things in wisdom: the earth is filled with thy riches. So is this great sea, which stretcheth wide its arms: there are creeping things without number, creatures little and great, […] that leviathan, whom thou hast formed to play therein. All expect of

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39 According to *Genesis* 1:21, the 'great whales' were the first of the 'living and moving creature[s]', that God fashioned to populate the firmament of waters on the fifth day of creation.

thee that thou give them food in season'. And *Psalm* 73:14, more than any other, in its imagery of the leviathan subdued and battered by the power of God, licenses the connection Van Mander draws between the beached whale and its maker's limitless ability to work wonders: 'Thou by thy strength didst make the sea firm; thou didst crush the heads of leviathan in the waters'.

The clear distinction between reading the whale as sign of God's intention and appreciating it as example of God's work, along with the conviction that such appreciation will impel the viewer prayerfully to sound the praises of the Lord, recalls the similar distinction made by Montaigne in his essay "Of a Monstrous Child" between reading the child as 'prognostic to the king', an option Montaigne rejects, and apprehending it as one of 'the infinity of forms that [God] has comprised [in the immensity of his work]'.[40] The notion that monsters, far from being abnormal signs sent by God, proceed from his infinite wisdom and are for this reason 'good and ordinary and regular', howsoever we perceive them, derives in turn from Saint Augustine, as Jean Céard has shown in his study of the science of prodigies and monsters.[41] On this account, Montaigne testifies to a shift in the idea of nature, which ceases to function as the joint site of presages, sent by God to mark underlying disorders, and of prodigies, produced by nature in her orderly efforts to match microcosm to macrocosm. For Montaigne, as for Van Mander, monsters give evidence of nature's order, an order we glimpse rather than understand, whose ultimate source is God, the maker of nature's 'assortment and relationship'. Indeed, Van Mander's reluctance to join Screvelius in using the term 'monster' can be attributed to his belief that whales are God's good works, not divine omens, and as such, that Matham's prints are sources of intelligence that allow the viewer to contemplate these *wercken*.

It is surely worth noting that by 1582, Gabriele Paleotti, Cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, had codified the division between natural and presageful monsters in his *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (*Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*), the most important post-Tridentine treatise on Catholic image-making. This text, possibly known to Goltzius, Matham, and

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40   As cited in Céard J., "The Crisis of the Science of Monsters", in Desan P. (ed.), *Humanism in Crisis: The Decline of the French Renaissance*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor: 1991) 181–205, esp. 188–189, which quotes *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. D. M. Frame (Stanford: 1958) 539.

41   Céard, "The Crisis of the Science of Monsters" 189; for a fuller discussion of Augustine's views on natural prodigies and their significance, see Céard, *La nature et les prodiges* 21–30. On Montaigne's notion of 'variété' as it relates to his construals of 'miracles' and 'monstres', see ibidem 397–434.

Van Mander, is relevant because it circulated so widely, educing normative and prescriptive attitudes toward religious and secular imagery. Paleotti distingishes the category of *mostri dalla natura* (natural monsters) from the category of *cose prodigiose* (prodigious things), by which he means monstrous portents.[42] Citing 2 *Maccabees* 5:2–3, on the airborne signs that darkly presaged the momentous events soon to occur in Jerusalem, Paleotti professes that omens are most difficult to discern, requiring to be certified judiciously before they are accepted as true, and consequently, he counsels the painter to refrain from depicting such things. He proscribes any portentous image either based on hearsay or invented by the painter *a capriccio* (capriciously):

> The pictorial representation [of prodigies] should be considered circumspectly, since they ought not to be fashioned capriciously, after one's own invention, nor even less, to be construed as verified, even though others have reported or written about them; for this subject matter, being unusual and extraordinary, requires judgment all the more to be expressed opportunely, and veracity, in order that noone be deceived.
>
> With regard to this matter, what has been written in the *Books of Maccabees* is most notable: 'And it came to pass that through the whole city of Jerusalem for the space of forty days there were seen horsemen running in the air, in gilded raiment, and armed with spears, like bands of soldiers. And horses set in order by ranks, running one against another, with shakings of shields, and a multitude of men in helmets, with drawn swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden armour, and of harnesses of all sorts'.[43]

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42   Paleotti G., *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, in Barocchi P. (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, 3 vols. (Bari: 1961) II 419–424, esp. 419, 423.

43   Ibidem 423: 'Le quali doveranno ricevere la sua ragionevole considerazione nel rappresentarle in pittura, perchè né anco queste si debbono fare a capriccio, di propria invenzione, né meno si doverà assicurare alcuno subito di farle, se bene altri l'avesse o riferite o scritte; però che, per essere materie molto estraordinarie et insolite, tanto più ricercano e giudicio per isprimerle opportunamente, e verità, acciò nessuno resti ingannato.

'Tra queste molto notabile è quella scritta nei libri de' Macabei con queste parole:
"Contigit autem per universam Hierosolymorum civitatem videri diebus quadraginta per aera equites discurrentes auratas stolas habentes et hastas, quasi cohortes armatas, et cursus equorum per ordines digestos, et congressiones fieri cominus, et scutorum motus, et galeatorum multitudinem gladiis districtis, et telorum iactus, et aureorum armorum splendorem omnisque generis loricarum" '. 2 *Maccabees* 5:4 adds that the people, unable to decode these wonders, nonetheless observed them hopefully: 'Wherefore all men prayed that these prodigies might turn to good'.

Although Paleotti allows that God-given portents have undeniably occurred, his aversion to depictions of them resonates with Montaigne's extreme skepticism toward the diviners' art. Suggesting that most auspices are merely natural monsters that have been misconstrued, Paleotti's text devalues precisely the sort of imagery that Matham's prints, conjoined with Van Mander's inscriptions, explicitly contravene.

The voyage narratives of the Dutch explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten provide the most pertinent local context for Van Mander's antipathy to divination applied to the things of nature.[44] Stripped of any augural signficance, whales appear frequently in publications such as the *Twee journalen van twee verscheyde voyagien* [...] *van by noorden om, langhs Noorwegen* [...] *na Vay-gats* (*Two Journals of Two Different Voyages* [...] *Northward along the Norwegian Coast* [...] *to Waygats*) of ca. 1595, in which Linschoten recounts his participation in a whaling expedition, as well as his discovery of whale-bones beached on the coast of the island Vaigatch [Fig. 11.6].[45] Having received

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44   On Van Linschoten's various expeditions and the texts, images, and maps issued to document them, see Moer A. van den, *Een zestiende-eeuwse Hollander in het Verre Oosten en het Hoge Noorden. Leven, werken, reizen en avonturen van Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563–1611)* (Amsterdam: 1979); and Koeman C., "Jan Huygen van Linschoten", *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 32 (1985) 24–47.

45   See, for example, the description of the whale captured in the harbor of the island Toxar, in Linschoten Jan Huygen van, *Twee journalen van twee verscheyden voyagien, gedaen door Jan Huygen van Linschooten, van by Noorden om, langhs Noorwegen, d' Noordt-Caep, Laplandt, Finlandt, Ruslandt, de witte Zee, de Kusten van Candenoes, Sweetenoes, Pitzora, etc. door de Strate ofte Enghte van Nassouw, tot voor by de Reviere Oby, na Vay-Gats, gedaen in de Jaren 1594 en 1595* (Franeker, Gerardus Ketel: 1595; reprint ed., Amsterdam, Gillis Joosten Saeghman: ca. 1665) 8–9: 'This island Toxar, like the solid land around it, is for the most part flat and empty, so far as one can see from seaside, and consists mainly of a sandy strand that extends landward for over two miles. Behind it is a mountain range, beyond which, we were told, lies the river of Colcocova [...]. On the 14th, as on the previous day, we saw several whales in the harbor, swimming toward us: we followed, but by fault of the harpooners, failed to overpower them; finally, having captured one, we brought it onto dry land and cut it into pieces, which we then placed in barrels, to boil down into tapers. Though still young, it measured 33 or 34 feet in length, and the tail was about 8 feet wide; on each side of the jawbone, 268 plates of baleen projected upward. We obtained [from it] 20 tons of blubber, in addition to the flesh, entrails, and skin'. ['Dit Eylant Toxar, en 't vaste landt daer ontrent, is meest al te mael aen de zee-kant, so veer men sien kan, een leeg vlack Landt, en meest zandt-strandt, de welcke tot over de twee mijlen landewaert in streckt. Heeft daer na een Geberghte, en achter dit leght de Riviere van Colcocova [...]. Den 14. als oock des daeghs te vooren, sagen wy sommige Walvisschen in de Haven, by ons op de Reede komen: wy vervolgdense wel, maer by faute van harpoensers, konden
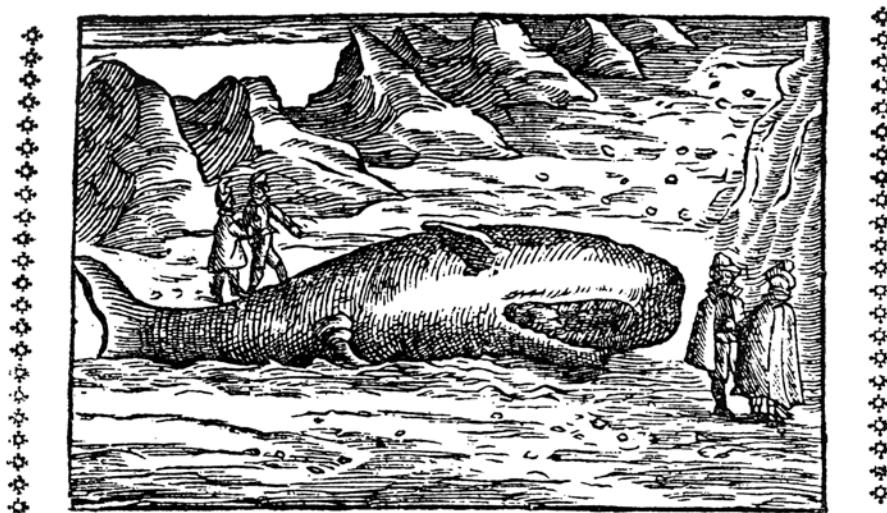
FIGURE 11.6   *Anonymous*, Whale Caught in Harbor of the Island Toxar, *illustrated in Jan Hugen van Linschoten*, Twee journalen van twee verscheyde voyagien [...] van by noorden om, langhs Noorwegen [...] na Vay-gats (*Franeker, Gerardus Ketel: 1595; reprint ed., Amsterdam, Gillis Joosten Saeghman: ca. 1665) 9. Woodcut. London, British Library. By permission of the British Library.*

a city commission to paint a *gedachtenisse* (commemorative plaque) recording Van Linschoten's donation to the town of Haarlem of part of the whale's jawbone found at Vaigatch, Van Mander would have known how the explorer justified collecting these bones: they are worthy natural specimens, remarkable for their great size and rarity; they provide information about the fauna of Vaigatch and suggest opportunities for hunting and trading, that it was Van Linschoten's mission to confirm; and they irrefutably testify to his presence at the Strait of Vaigatch, certifying that he fulfilled his obligations as explorer and voyager.[46] Whereas for the anonymous pamphleteer of 1598, the whale's jaws

geen gewelt daer op doen, doch kreghen in 't eynde een, brachten hem aen strant op het droogh, daer wy hem aen stucken hapten, en in tonnen leyden, om Craen af te koken. Was noch jongh, en had echter 33. of 34. voeten in de lenghte, en de staert by de acht voeten breet, had aen elcke zyde van de onderste Kaeck-beenen, op-waerts aen steeckende 268. beerden; kreghen daer 20. ton Speck van, behalven 't Vlees, ingewant en vel'.]

46   The partial jawbone given to Haarlem, Van Linschoten's home town, in memory of his first voyage to Nova Zembla (1594), was found on the eastern shore of Vaigatch. In fact, the jawbone was discovered during his second expedition to Nova Zembla (1595), as he attests in *Twee journalen* 37: 'On this day our guests found a dead whale lying on the eastern shore of Vaigatch, between the Cape of Unrest and the Cape of the Cross, its jawbone

are an evocative figure of Spanish rapacity, for Van Linschoten the jawbone is nothing more than a specimen, document, and evidentiary marker.

I have been locating Matham's prints and Van Mander's inscriptions within a polyglot community of essays, treatises, and chronicles that question the legitimacy of combing nature for political portents, and instead propound alternative modes of viewing. They construe the whales as works of God (Montaigne), as natural monsters (Paleotti), or as exotic specimens (Linschoten), rather than valuing them as signifying portents that require to be decoded. Unlike Montaigne, Paleotti, and Linschoten, however, all of whom reduce extraordinary sights to natural effects, albeit effects that have their source in God, Van Mander emphatically describes Matham's images as records of divine artifice. The resources of Matham's skilled burin-hand, employed to document these wondrous examples of divine handiwork, engage in an act of religious service, for the appropriate response to these works of God is 'praise of the Lord', as Van Mander puts it. The viewing of these prints leads to exaltation, born of a full sense of divine omnipotence, and this experience leads in turn to pious praise of the Lord, that is, to laudatory prayer.

As I have outlined it, this exercise, in which the engraver's skill serves to attest God's inimitable works, conforms to the larger project of exemplary Christian service pursued by the Goltzius workshop in the 1590s. Briefly put, in demonstration plates such as the *Life of the Virgin* of 1593–94, engraved in the manner of a various Northern and Italian masters, the *Passion* of 1596–98, engraved in the manner of Lucas van Leyden, and the *Pietà* of 1598, engraved in the manner of Dürer, Goltzius labors to exemplify the *handelinghen* (pictorial manners) of masters he reveres, incorporating his hand into theirs; he places every pictorial resource at his command in service to Christian themes rendered as if by the hands of other masters, renowned for their religious

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measuring 16 feet in length and of commensurate width: two pieces of the jawbone were brought back to Holland, and one hangs at the civic militia hall in Enkhuizen, the other in the city hall of Haarlem'. ['Op desen dagh vonden onse gasten aen de Oostzyde van Vaygats, tusschen de Twisthoeck en Kruys-hoek, een dooden Walvisch leggen, hebbende kakebeenen van 16. voeten langh, en dick na advenant: 2. van de kakebeenen sijn mede in Hollant gebracht, een hanght te Enckhuysen op de Doelen, en een ander tot Haerlem op 't Stad-huys'.] On Van Mander's plaque recording the gift, see Valentiner E., *Karel van Mander als Maler*, Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes 132 (Strasbourg: 1930) 84–85; Miedema H. (ed.), *De archiefbescheiden van het St. Lukasgilde te Haarlem, 1497–1798*, 2 vols. (Alphen aan den Rijn: 1980) I 67–68; and Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* 200, 231.

imagery [Figs. 11.7–11.9].[47] For instance, the *Rest on the Return from the Flight into Egypt*, the closing plate from the *Life of the Virgin* series, functions as an epitome of Federico Barocci's art, a new image not only executed as if by Barocci's hand, but seemingly invented by him, as if newly minted by his unique genius [Fig. 11.10].[48] It is also an epitome of religious devotion: by illustrating a scene from the infancy of Christ, implicitly expressive of the mystery of the Incarnation, Goltzius affirms his piety, as well as that of Barocci, and further by implication, that of the print's dedicatee, the intensely devout Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria.

In exemplifying both consummate artistry and incontrovertible devotion, calling attention to the former even while using it to vivify the latter, Goltzius was of course responding to one of the most contentious issues that faced makers of Roman Catholic art in the decades following the reform Council of Trent. These issues can be summarized by reference to one of the most important treatises on sacred art written in response to the conciliar decree endorsing imagemaking, Giovanni Gilio's *Dialogo degli errori de' pittori* (*Dialogue on the Errors of Painters*) of 1564. Published one year after the close of the final session, Gilio's polemical text offers a powerful critique of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, arguing that the painter has placed his art above doctrine: the painter, says Gilio, has privileged his conceits, in particular his preoccupation

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47   On Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* series, see Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. Leeflang, I 15–32, nos. 8–13. On these prints, the imitative method they epitomize, and the jointly religious and artisanal virtue they exemplify, see Melion W. S., "Self-Imaging and the Engraver's *Virtù*: Hendrick Goltzius's *Pietà* of 1598", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995) 105–143; idem, "*Cordis circumcisio in spiritu*: Imitation and the Wounded Christ in Hendrick Goltzius's *Circumcision* of 1594", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 52 (2001) 31–77; idem, "The Meditative Function of Hendrick Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* of 1593–94", in Falkenburg R. – Melion W. S. – Richardson T. (eds.), *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Proteus: Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation 1 (Turnhout: 2007) 379–425; and idem, "Eros and Imitation in Hendrick Goltzius's *Annunciation* from the *Life of the Virgin*", in idem, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts 1 (Philadelphia: 2009) 369–394. On the *Passion, in the Manner of Lucas van Leyden*, see Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. Leeflang, I 45–69, nos. 17–28. On the *Pietà*, see ibidem I 74–77, no. 31.

48   On Goltzius's *Rest on the Return from the Flight*, see Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. Leeflang, I 21, no. 13; and Melion W. S., "Theory and Practice: Reproductive Engravings in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands", in Riggs T. – Silver L. (eds.), *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640* [exh. cat., Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, Evanston] (Evanston: 1993) 47–69, esp. 62.

FIGURE 11.7 *Hendrik Goltzius*, Circumcision, in the Manner of Albrecht Dürer (*1594*), *from* Life of the Virgin (*1593–1594*). *Engraving, 48.4 × 35.7 cm. London, British Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

FIGURE 11.8   *Hendrick Goltzius,* Ecce Homo (*1597*), *from* Passion, in the Manner of
                Lucas van Leyden (*1597–1598*). *Engraving, 20 × 13 cm. London, British
                Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

FIGURE 11.9   *Hendrick Goltzius,* Pietà, in the Manner of Albrecht Dürer *(1596). Engraving, 18 × 13 cm. London. British Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

FIGURE 11.10 *Hendrick Goltzius,* Rest on the Return from the Flight into Egypt, in the Manner of Federico Barroci (*1593*), *from* Life of the Virgin (*1593–1594*). *Engraving, 47 × 35.3 cm. London, British Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

with the nude and with poetic fictions, such as the Dantesque presence of Charon, ferryman of the underworld, very much to the detriment of the proleptic religious subject he should ostensibly be portraying; as a cosequence, he has committed the sin of willful error.[49] Having limited himself to a very selective production of master engravings dedicated to Catholic patrons, Goltzius sought in the 1590s to promulgate epitomes of the engraver's art, that might yet circumvent the sort of charges levelled against Michelangelo by critics such as Gilio. In the *Return from the Flight*, he deflects this critique of self-assertion by applying a thematic of religious service—further distilled and embodied by the figure of St. John the Baptist—vaunting not his own art but rather, that of Barocci, and then using that master's pictorial manner to strenghthen the image's devotional form, function, and meaning.

In the beached whale prints, Matham, accommodating the argument of Van Mander's inscriptions, executes a simple version of Goltzius's complex maneuver: as Goltzius had made pictorial manner his theme, so Matham's theme is divine artifice, and as Goltzius had placed pictorial manner in service to religious truth, so Matham's art serves to evince God's prodigious works of nature. In both cases, the engravers and their collaborators produce novel devotional images that may be construed as signally pious and altogether orthodox.

I want to turn in closing to the principal context for the notion that divine artifice is the engraver's legitimate concern, indeed the subject that certifies his very art. This context was local: I refer to *rederijker* (rhetorical) drama, specifically to the *spelen van sinne* (allegorical verse dramas), such as the plays performed at the celebrated Antwerp *landjuweel* (regional prize competition) of 1561, the last and grandest of the Brabantine series of competitions inaugurated in 1515. Perhaps edited by Willem van Haecht, *factor* of the *Violieren* (Gillyflowers), one of three rhetorical chambers resident in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp and the company that hosted the 1561 *landjuweel*, these *spelen* form part of the festival performances published by Willem Silvius in 1562.[50]

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49   On Gilio's critique of Michelangelo, see Dempsey C., "Mythic Inventions in Counter-Reformation Painting", in Ramsey P. A. (ed.), *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton: 1982) 55–75, esp. 65–66.

50   Organized by De Violieren in collaboration with the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, the *landjuweel* of 1561 was accompanied by a second prize competition, known as the *Haagspel*, and in addition, incorporated a festive entry and poetical pageant, both of which featured competitive tableaux vivants. The political context for this theatrical extravaganza, as Joeroen Vandommele has shown, was the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, negotiated in 1559. On the organization and program of the 1561 *landjuweel*, see Vandommele J., *Als in een spiegel. Vrede, kennis en gemeenschap op het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561*, Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 132 (Hilversum: 2011) 11–64; and on the *spelen van sinne* performed

Goltzius, Matham, and Van Mander were of course familiar with this genre of literary-rhetorical composition: Van Mander himself wrote several *spelen*;[51] Goltzius had studied with Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert, a supreme master of allegorical drama in verse, and he was a member of the *Pelicaenen* (Pelicans), the Haarlem chamber for which he and Matham devised several emblematic blazons on the company motto 'Trou moet blijcken' ('Faith must shine forth').[52]

during the *landjuweel*, 137–360. On the two publications that stemmed respectively from the *landjuweel* and the *Haagspel*, both of which incorporate prose prefaces by Willem van Haecht, see ibidem 45–47. On the *landjuweel* and its literary significance, also see Coigneau D., "Inleiding", in Cockx-Indestege E. – Waterschoot W. (eds.), *Uyt Ionsten versaemt. Het landjuweel van 1561 in Antwerpen* (Brussels: 1994) 9–44; idem, "'Maer die steden apaert'. Over het rederijkerslandjuweel en het haagspel van 1561", in Vanhemelryck F. (ed.), *Volkscultuur in het hertogdom Brabant* (Brussels: 1994) 115–141; Vandommele J. J. M., "'Come all ye artless, take pleasure in learning!' The Role of Education in Allegorical Plays Performed at the Antwerp *Landjuweel* of 1561", in Kemperink M. G. (ed.), *Vision in Text and Image* (Leuven: 2008) 85–100; idem, "'Herewith the poet doth reveal'. The Poetical Pageant of the Antwerp *Landjuweel* of 1561 as an Innovative Transmitter of the Concept of Harmony", in Vries A. de (ed.), *Cultural Mediators: Artists and Writers on the Crossroads of Tradition, Innovation, and Reception in the Low Countries and Italy, 1450–1650* (Leuven: 2008) 161–180; and idem, "Mirroring God, Reflecting Man: Shaping Identity through Knowledge in the Antwerp Plays of 1561", in Ramakers B. (ed.), *Understanding Art in Antwerp (1540–1580): Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classics* (Leuven: 2011) 173–195.

51 On Van Mander's *spelen van sinne*, all of which are lost, see Jacobsen R., *Carel van Mander (1548–1606). Dichter en prozaschrijver* (Ph.D. dissertation, Rijks-Universiteit Leiden: 1906; reprint ed., Utrecht: 1972) 28–32. The biography of Van Mander added to the 1618 edition of the *Schilder-Boeck* mentions several plays staged in his home town of Meulebeke, the most elaborate of which told the story of Noah and the ark; other plays produced throughout Flanders focused on Nebuchadnezzer, on David and Solomon, on Solomon (his judgment, idolatry, and dealings with the architect Hiram and the Queen of Sheba), and two plays composed just before his journey to Rome in 1574, one dealing with Bel and the Dragon, the other with Wisdom and Folly. On these *spelen*, see "'t Geslacht, de geboort, plaets, tydt, leven, ende wercken van Karel van Mander, Schilder en Poeet, mitsgaders zyn overlyden, ende begraeffenis", in Mander Karel van, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam, Jacob Pieterszoon Wachter: 1618), fol. Riij recto-verso; for a critical edition of this *Levensbericht*, which is sometimes attributed to the poet Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero, see Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives*, trans. Cook-Radmore, I 7–33, esp. 14–17. On Van Mander's *Noah*, see Johannessen K. L., *Zwischen Himmel und Erde: Eine Studie über Joost van den Vondels biblische Tragödie in Gattungs-geschichtlicher Perspektive* (Oslo – Zwolle: 1963) 261–261. As Miedema notes in *Karel van Mander: The Lives* II 47, the poet may have received invitations ('kaerten') to produce his plays at festivals of rhetoric elsewhere in Flanders, since there was no chamber of rhetoric in Meulebeke.

52 On Goltzius's design for the chamber *Trou moet blijcken*, engraved by Matham, see Widerkehr L., "*Jacob Matham Goltzij privignus*: Jacob Matham graveur et ses rapports avec

I will focus on two plays from the 1561 *landjuweel*, that would have circulated widely, as a result of their inclusion in Silvius and Van Haecht's commemorative volume, unparalleled in its sheer size, editorial precision, and generic scope. The fourteen participating chambers were asked to compose allegorical plays that addressed the question, 'What spurs men most to *consten* ('arts')?' The term *consten*, as used by the chambers, refers to the arts as instruments of knowledge-formation: it embraces the traditional liberal arts, as well as poetry, painting, and, exceptionally, sculpture. To the competition question, the chamber from 's Hertogenbosch, *Den Vierighen Doorn* ('The Fiery Bramble'), answered, 'The spirit of God's wisdom that works through love'; the chamber from Lier, *Den Groeyende Boom* ('The Growing/Greening Tree'), answered, 'Hope for immortal glory in heaven and on earth'.[53]

The key protagonist of the 's Hertogenbosch play is *Simpel van Verstande* ('Simple of Mind'), who is guided by various personifications to a vision of God's wisdom, first by *Tgoethertich Vermueghen* ('Noble-minded Ability') and *In Consten Verhueghen* ('Exaltation in the Arts'), and later by *Rechte Kennisse* ('True Knowledge') and *Des Waerheyts Bewijs* ('Evidence of Truth'), messengers sent by God. In a crucial homily True Knowledge asserts that God is himself the *opperste Constenaer* ('Highest Artificer'), who has established all *goede consten* ('good arts') to fortify the cause of virtue: 'Further, as you will see, it has pleased the Lord who, as the highest artificer, knows and can do everything, willing and accomplishing what no man on earth can do, howsoever gifted or magnified

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Hendrick Goltzius", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42–43 (1991–1992) 219–260, esp. 230, 257, no. M.1 On this and other blazons engraved by Matham after Goltzius, including a *New Year's Print of the Old Haarlem Chamber of Rhetoric 'De Pellicanisten'*, see Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein: Hendrick Goltzius*, ed. Leeflang, IV 207–210, nos. 756–758.

53   Haecht Willem van (ed.?), *Spelen van sinne vol scoone moralisacien wtleggingen ende bediedenissen op alle loeflijcke consten waerinne men claerlijck ghelijck in eenen spieghel, Figuerlijck, Poetelijck ende Retorijckelijck mach aenschouwen hoe nootsakelijck ende dienstelijck die selve consten allen menschen zijn* (Antwerp, Willem Silvius: 1562) 141, 159 (for the 's Hertogenbosch chamber's response); 465, 468, 482 (for the Lier chamber's response). The *spel van sinne* of 's Hertogenbosch argues that the raison d'être and point of origin of all human 'consten' is the 'constich hantwerck' ('artful handiwork') of God, whose 'gheest der wijsheyt' ('spirit of wisdom') best expressed itself in the mystery of the Incarnation, the supreme epitome of divine artifice (ibidem 151, 159). The *spel van sinne* of Lier ultimately turns on a double reading of 'hope van onsterflijckheyt' ('hope for immortality'), which is taken to mean both 'hope for immortal fame' and 'hope for eternal life', and in a further construal of the latter sense, 'hope for salvation' (ibidem 477–481). For a summary of the competing chambers' 'beantwoordinghen oft solutien' ('answers or solutions') to the question, 'Dwelck den mensch aldermeest tot consten verwect', see ibidem 16.

by art, to order all good arts for the foritification of virtue'.[54] The term *const* embraces both the literary and pictorial arts, as I have indicated above, and True Knowledge uses it to refer to God's inimitable artisanship, his 'constich hantwerck soet boven sucaden' ('artful handiwork sweet above all sweets').[55] Her point, bodied forth in the faculty she personifies, is that genuine knowledge, source of the greatest pleasure, derives from attention paid to those things artfully fashioned by the Lord, which are to be appreciated as tokens of his supreme and universal wisdom. Cognizant of God's 'paternal, affectionate good deeds', exemplified by his artful handiwork, we will strive to praise, honor, and thank him liberally, having been led to God through our awareness of *const*.[56] By contrast, whoever forgets that God is the fountain from which all arts flow, resembles those pagans who credited nature alone as the source of such gifts; they falsely ascribe the arts to human nature, and consequently, as True Knowledge implies, these misguided artisans are culpable of engaging in a form of idolatry.[57]

Simple of Mind enthusiastically responds to this second homily, which teaches him that 'kennise der consten weerdich' ('knowledge of the worthy arts'), leavened by the realization that all such *const* originates in God, is the means whereby we approach him, discerning his greatness.[58] Armed with such knowledge, Simple of Mind is now ready to receive the play's closing revelation: namely, the insight that to espouse *const* rightly is to acknowledge God as its source, and that the practice of *const* is grounded in God the Artificer's

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54   Ibidem 150: 'Voorts heeft de Heere na sijn wel behaghen / Alle goede consten soo ghy sult mercken // wel / Gheordineert tot sduechs verstercken // snel / Als opperste Constenaer, diet al weet en can / Wil, en vermach, dwelck ter werelt gheen man / En doet, hoe constich begaeft oft vermaert'.

55   Ibidem 151.

56   Ibidem 151: 'Sijn Vaderlijcke liefhebbende goey-daden / sijn Constich hantwerck soet boven sucaden / Sijn wel ghemaecte schepselen goet van cueren / Als hemel, aerde, en alle creatueren / Diemen mach noemen oft den mensch bekent sijn / Met loff, prijs, en danckbaerheyt liberalijck'.

57   Ibidem: 'Dwelck vele (eylaes) doen al te qualijck / Als die daer meynen dat sulcx al sijnen ganck / Heeft, wt der natueren, na dopinien cranck / Van sommighe Heydens in sinnen ghespeten / Die Godt hier in te danckene vergheten / Als fonteyne daer alle consten wt vloeyen'.

58   Ibidem: 'Soo hoor ick wel na des waerheyts bedijcken / Dat alsulcke kennisse der consten weerdich / Wel tprincipaelste stuck (daer in men volheerdich / Hoort te blijvene) is naer u meeninghe'.

various endeavors, the greatest of which is his creation of God made flesh in Christ.[59]

Arguing that God is himself the supreme artificer, the 's Hertogenbosch play folds the pursuit of *const* into the search for religious truth. If offers a rhetorical-artisanal discourse of art onto which we can map Matham's prints of God's wondrous works, works that, in Van Mander's words, compel us piously to acknowledge God's omnipotence. Like the 's Hertogenbosch players, Van Mander affirms the nexus of art and piety, viewing Matham's prints as devotional images that by describing examples of divine *const* invite artful praise of the Lord.[60]

Although the Lier chamber responds differently to the competition question, answering 'hope for eternal glory in heaven and on earth', their method of argumentation complements that of 's Hertogenbosch. Their key protagonist is *Mensche* ('Man'), whom *Treck der Natueren* ('Natural Inclination'), accompanied by *Pays* ('Peace'), attempts to awaken from his lethargy and ignite to the practice of art.[61] Lacking the stamina for such effortful study, Man requires the encouragement of two further personifications, *Neerstich Useren* ('Diligent

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59   Ibidem 159 (italics mine): 'En daer desen dan is soo met liefde om vaen / Als ghever, en wilder dat men dwerck volbringt / Wercken, oft consten na des heeren vermaen / Sonder eyghen eere daer in ghemingt / Wordt sulcke niet alleen, daer therte toe dringt / Een constenaer, oft meester, rustich en vroet / Maer crijcht daer den prijs door, daer na elck verlingt / By de Croone der Eeren gheleken soet / *Daer de Vader sijnen son inde Menscheyt goet / Mede vercierde, door sijn conste rechtveerdich* / Als hy hem salfde midts der liefden gloet / Met olie der blijschappen eer-weerdich / Boven sijn mede ghesellen, dwelck soet-gheerdich / *Den reynen constenaers is een exemplaer* / Dus wel hem die dit met verstande vol-heerdich / Door *de rechte Gods conste* is volghene naer'.

60   'Artful' here also refers to the play, itself expressive of the God-given *const* it acclaims.

61   Ibidem: 'Ick gae tot den mensche en machs laten niet / Het is mijns moeders bevel hoort naer mijn tale / Liefde ghenaemt, en woont in de hoochste sale / Met haer kint onster-flijcke glorie schoone / Op dat de mensch sou ontfanghen de croone / Door hope der onsterflijcker glorien net / Die subijtelijck sal worden in hem gheset / Soeckene reyn conste niet van deser eerden'. *Treck de Natueren* then states (ibidem 465) that 'hope naer glorie' ('hope for glory') is the defining condition of the true 'constenaer constich' ('artful artificer'): 'Iaet, want noyt en wasser constenaer constich / Hope naer glorie was in hem gheprent / Dat sy onsterflijck souwen blijven bekent'. At stake is the practice of 'reyn conste' ('pure art', exercised for honor rather than monetary profit), as the character *Fame van Eeren* ('Honorable Fame') later makes clear (ibidem 469): 'Dinct ghiericheyt, is een leelijck cieraet / Tbringt verdoemenisse, met hem ghedraghen / Verwect dat conste, het aensien oft tbehaghen / in ghelt, cieraet, cleeren, oft gulden ringhen / Sou hooverdije, dan conste by brenghen / Neen, tis teghen natuere ghelooft dat vast / Niet weert datmense by reyn conste tast / Haer wesen is verganckelijck te male / Maer soect reyn conste die

Usage') and *Wel Behagen* ('Good Content'), who reassure and inspire him to follow the example of the Muses.[62] Only through works of art, they tell him, will he achieve the life after death that eternal fame vouchsafes.[63]

Conste herself eventually appears, rewarding Man's fervent desire to see her. After engaging in dialogue with her, Man proves himself ready to receive the solution to the competition question, which appears in a *thoon* ('allegorical presentation', that is, a tableau vivant, often enacted on the second register of the stage set) glossed by *Conste*. The name of God, inscribed in Hebrew letters, becomes visible in a cloudbank, encircled by cherubs.[64] Paraphrasing Christ, *Conste* announces that what Man desires shall be his reward (*Matthew* 6:21): 'Attend, Man, to that which is revealed to you, and ask no longer for immortality. See instead that which lasts everlastingly till the end of all days, that which ceaselessly the ancients ever hoped to know with cunning skills, that which they did not understand yet sought through me, subtly counterfeiting the good and the bad as clever *artisten* (artists), in order to convey to glory the simpleminded who easily falter'.[65]

Man, acceding to these insights delivered by *Conste*, states: 'This spurs me freely to you, so that with you and through you I might chance to attend the

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princepale / Achter sal laten eenen onsterflijcken naem / Laet sulck glorie u verwecken bequaem / Om hemels tsijne en onvrganncklijck'.

62   Midway through the *spel*, *Mensche* takes center stage with *Neerstich Useren* and *Wel Behaghen*, and announces how, led first by *Treck der Natueren* and then by them, he has now attached himself to the Muses, whose various gifts he gratefully acknowledges (ibidem 477): 'Ick bender toe ontwect, dies mijn vreucht vermeert / In sulcken loflijcken consten loyale / Weerdich sijn sy, tot den hemel gheeert / Want sy comen wt de hoochste sale'.

63   *Neerstich Useren* and *Wel Behaghen* adduce Orpheus, the power of whose art has made him immortal (ibidem 472–473): 'Hoort Orpheus de stil staen boomen, rivieren / Door sijns spels vercieren // alderley dieren / Stervende soo hebben de Goddinnen / Hem self begraven, en ten hemel binnen / Sijn constich spel verheven, dus dan ghy / Om sulcken glorie, niet te gane voorby / Vinde ick u verwect tot consten ongheblaemt'.

64   The *thoon* is described in a marginal gloss (ibidem 481): 'Toon. Den name Gods in Hebreusche inde wolcken ommeringt met Cherubinnen'.

65   Ibidem 481: 'Siet mensche op dat ick u verthoone / Donsterflijcheyt wilt my niet meer vraghen / Aensiet dat nu dat eewich blijft tot allen daghen / Daer de Antiquiteyt met nauwer listen / Altijt op ghehoopt hebben sonder vertraghen / Om te kennen daer sy niet af en wisten / Sochtent door my en als cloecke artisten / Conterfeyten tgoet, en quaet subtijlijck / Om voor die simpele die lichtelijck misten / Tot glorien te bringhene blijlijck'. *Const* is arguing that whereas the ancients believed 'onsterflijckheyt' to be obtainable in and through the practice of 'const', Christian 'constenaeren' realize that 'const' is but the means to an end, that end being eternal salvation, which issues from Christ and entails the use of all one's native abilities.

constenaers (artificer's) works, hoping for immortal glory, in which my spirit should rest forever, confirmed in glory'.[66] *Conste* concurs, praising God as the highest artificer, whose honorable *hantwerck* (handiwork) *Conste* serves to imitate: 'I am the mirror [of God's handiwork], through which is known heaven's course and the whole firmament; indeed men know death and life through me [...]. Thus, oh Man, be assured of this, and in hope of pure glory and of becoming an immortal creature, desire to use me diligently early and late [...]. I go, be diligent alone in my virtue, for through me heavenly fruit is tasted'.[67] Through the arts, then, we come to know their source, a truth literally enacted in this play when *Conste* explicates the *thoon* that stages an epiphany of God's name. What Man has learned from *Conste*, he announces in a final speech, is that God is the 'wercker der const hemels boven al' ('the heavenly maker of art above all'), whose promise of surpassing glory is known as *Elisius dal* ('the Elisian fields'), where 'immortal souls reign forever'.[68]

In this articulation, God is acknowledged as the supreme *constenaer*, and the chief virtue of art is seen to consist in the imitation of God's works, the symptoms of his peerless *const*. Viewed in these terms, Maham's prints may be construed as mirrors of the divine handwork of the *hoochsten constenaer* ('highest artificer'). This is precisely the claim made by Van Mander's inscriptions that ask us to regard the whales not as political portents, monstrous presages, or encoded prolepses, but as divine creations, valuable in and of themselves, the true and pious subjects of Matham's prints. Appreciated in this way, the whales become doubly curious, strange things rarely fashioned, epitomes of the unfamiliar and of artifice, justly served by Matham's burin-hand.

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66   Ibidem: 'Dat is my oock meest verweckende vrijlijck / Tot u, op dat ick des constenaers wercken / Met u en door u sou connen aenmercken / Midts hopende op de glorie onsterflijck / Dat mijnen gheest daer sou rusten erflijck / Om sijn in glorien gheconfirmeert'.

67   Ibidem 482: 'Waer af ick den spieghel ben daerment al [des hoochsten constenaers [...] hantwerck] in kent / Den loop des hemels en theel firmament / Ia doot en leven kentmen oock door my / [...] / Dus o mensche ghy // hier op vastelijck staet / Wilt Neerstich useren om my vroech en laet / Door hope om in glorien pure / Te worden een onsterflijcke creatuere / [...] / Ick gae sijt neerstich alleen om mijn duecht / Want van my ghesmaect wort een hemelsche vruecht'.

68   Ibidem: 'Door hope volcomelijck mijn herte verhuecht / Midts die reyn conste die my heeft verthoont / De glorie daer donsterflijcheyt in woont / Den wercker der consts hemels boven al / De glorie die smenschen arbeyt verschoont / Welck meest tot consten verwect groot en smal / Vanden Poeten ghenaemt Elisius dal / Daer de sielen onsterflijck eewich regneren'. In this passage, 'hope volcomelijck' is fully identified with the hope for glory, which has become indistinguishable from the hope for eternal life in Christ.

Excursus: Prodigies of Nature in a *Poeterij* by Hendrick Goltzius

There were other ways, of course, to treat the thematic of artifice, and so, in closing, I want briefly to consider a *penwerck* (pen-work) by Van Mander's close friend Hendrick Goltzius that incorporates a very different kind of natural prodigy.[69] The *penwerck* in question, the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1593, is itself something prodigious, an epitome of artifice, and, as such, comments meta-pictorially on the subject of artifice that it also mythologizes: drawn in pen and various shades of brown ink on parchment, it consists entirely of concentric hatches and cross-hatches, delineated in Goltzius's signature burin-hand; relying neither on contour lines nor tonal washes, he yet manages to describe a wide spectrum of textures and to capture fugitive effects of reflected light and penumbral shadow [Fig. 11.11].[70] In places, such as the female nude's midriff or the male nude's upper arm, he depicts even subtler effects of re-reflected light that scintillates from surface to surface. Although the *penwerck* is ostensibly monochrome, it evokes a full palette of colors, not least the changeable coloring of flesh, flame, foliage, and bark. This epitome of Goltzius's *teyckenconst* (art of delineation) is a *poëterij*—a poetical subject, that is, a mythological fiction.[71] The central figure is Venus, the flanking

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69 On the term *penwerck*, utilized by Van Mander in the "Life of Goltzius", *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, Paschier van Wesbusch: 1604), fol. 285 verso, to designate the epitomes of *teyckenconst* rendered by him in pen and ink on parchment or canvas, see Melion W. S., "Love and Artisanship in Hendrick Goltzius's *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1606", *Art History* 16 (1993) 60–94, esp. 62–63; and Miedema, *Karel van Mander: The Lives*, trans. Cook-Radmore, V 207–208.

70 On the *Venus, Baccus, and Ceres*, lauded by Van Mander as a paragon of both *teyckenconst* and *reflexy-const* (art of reflection), see "Den grondt der edel vry Schilder-const", *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 33 recto; and "T'leven van Henricus Goltzius, uytnemende Schilder, Plaet-snijder, en Glaes-Schrijver, van Mulbracht", in ibidem, fol. 285 recto. On this *pen-werck*, see Reznicek, *Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* I 102–103, 286–87, no. 129; Miedema H. (ed.–trans.), *Karel van Mander, Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973) II 529-30; Nichols L. W., *The 'Pen-Works' of Hendrick Goltzius* [exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art], *Bulletin Philadelphia Museum of Art* 88 (1991) 12–14; and Leeflang H., "Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus, 1593", in Leeflang H – Luijten G. – et al., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): Drawings, Prints, and Paintings* [exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Toledo Museum of Art] (Amsterdam – New York – Toledo – Zwolle: 2003) 248–50, no. 87.

71 On the term *poëterij*, introduced by Van Mander in "T'leven van Ioan de Mabuse, Schilder", *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 225 verso, see Silver L., "*Figure nude, historie, e poesie*: Jan Gossaert and the Renaissance Nude in the Netherlands", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986) 1–40; and Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives*, trans. Cook-Radmore, III 146–47.

FIGURE 11.11   *Hendrick Goltzius,* Venus, Baccus, and Ceres (Sine Cerere et Baccho friget
Venus) *(1593). Pen and brown ink on parchment, 61.3 × 49.5 cm. London, British
Museum. By permission of the British Museum.*

figures Bacchus and Ceres, both of whom offer their gifts to the goddess: the wine god's presentation of grapes and the goddess of agriculture's presentation of a produce-laden cornucopia, enliven the goddess of love, warming her, supplying the food and drink that brings eros to life. In response, she starts to smile, becoming, before our very eyes, Philomeides Aphrodite—Venus the joyful goddess who rejoices in laughter. The three divinities enact an apothegm popularized by the Roman playwright Terence in the *Eunuchus*, and disseminated widely by Erasmus in the *Adagia*: 'Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus' ('Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus grows cold').[72] Erasmus considered this adage 'very neat' because its every part 'enshrines a metaphor': just as food and drink convert desire into passion, so the conversion of Ceres and Bacchus into images of love's instruments, and of Venus into an image of burning desire, wittily and vividly illustrates the truism that food and drink are the things that stimulate lasciviousness.[73] At Venus's feet, Cupid stokes a small fire fueled by ears of wheat and vine tendrils, and this flame, which signifies burgeoning love, casts a brilliant glow on Venus and the attendant deities. Very brightly lit are the draped fabric shielding her pudendum and the heart-shaped pendant decorating her *cestus*, the girdle that signifies seductive love's irresistable charms.[74]

Emerging from the vaporous smoke of Cupid's fire is one of the many prodigies of natural artifice that populate the picture: a half-formed, snub-nosed face with slanted eyes emanates from the smoky exhalation. Upon closer inspection, other faces become evident: the silhouette of the ledge upon which Ceres sets her left foot, for example, resembles a bearded face with deepset eye and protruberant cheek, seen from the side. Other faces materialize from the knotty bark of the myrtle tree, sacred to Venus, against which she leans—most conspicuously, a satyr-like face with upturned eyes in shadowy sockets, a blunt nose, a leering mouth, and a goatee. Above the doves, likewise sacred to Venus, another face appears to be forming, its eye-sockets already discernible, the nose just beginning to project, the cheeks and brow not yet

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72   On the adage 'Sine Cere et Baccho friget Venus', see Mynors R. A. B. (ed.–trans.), *Collected Works of Erasmus: Adages II i 1 to II vi 100* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 1991) 187–88. Van Mander cites this adage in "Van Venus", in "Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis", Book V of *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 29 verso. On the *Eunuch* as a source of *boelscappen*—erotic imagery closely related to the *poëterij*—see Sluijter E. J., "Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt", *Simiolus* (1999) 4–45, esp. 12, 14–16.

73   Mynors (ed.–trans.), *Adages II i 1 to II vi 100*, 886.

74   On the *cestus*, see Van Mander, "Van Venus", in "Wtlegghingh", fol. 29 recto.

distinguishable. These embryonic countenances allude to the transformative power of emergent love, as embodied by Venus in the company of her son Cupid and servitors Ceres and Bacchus. This is surely why the mask-like faces embedded in the tree trunk are juxtaposed to two further references to love-driven transformation: the Provençal roses growing next to the satyr's head allude to Adonis, beloved by Venus, from whose blood they issued;[75] the paired doves below the less fully-formed face allude to the nymph Peristera, who, driven by affection for the goddess, helped her to gather a bouquet so floriferous that it bested the one Cupid had plucked.[76] For her pains, the petulant Cupid then turned her into a snow-white dove, a creature that ever after remained dear to the goddess.

Whereas the beached whales, discussed above, prove resistant to construal as portents, here the facial images are tendered as presages of love's newfound strength, its growing power to overturn the normal course of events. Goltzius invites the viewer to read them as metonymic analogues of prospering Venus. Karel van Mander's iconographical treatise, the "Wtlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis" ("Commentary on the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso"), written soon after Goltzius drew his *penwerck*, provides ready access to the dense web of allusions he has spun. The proximity of the satyr's face to Venus's, its features as dark and bestial as hers are bright and beautiful, intimates that she is two-faced: on the one hand, Venus is the 'daughter of heaven', celestial in her pulchritude; on the other, to quote Van Mander, she is 'dubbed vulgar, carnal, and voluptuous, the youngest daughter of Jupiter and Dione, who prefers to haunt solitary and dark places, where her works may remain hidden'.[77] This other Venus is nicknamed Melaena, the 'dark one'.

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75   On Adonis, from whose blood issued the red rose and the Provençal rose, see ibidem, fol. 30 recto; and Van Mander, "Van Adonis", in ibidem, fol. 88 recto.

76   On Peristera, see Van Mander, "Van Venus", in "Wtlegghingh", fol. 30 recto.

77   Van Mander, "Van Venus", in "Wtlegghingh", fol. 30 recto: 'Maer Plato in't Bancket seght, datter zijn twee Venus, en twee Cupidons: want Venus is niet sonder Cupido. D'een Venus, seght hy, is ouder als d'ander, en is sonder Moeder, dochter des Hemels, die wy noemen Hemelsche, reyne en kuyssche, niet anders soeckende als een lichtende blinckentheyt in der Godtheyt: oft door een seer vyerige liefde die sy in ons baert, onse Sielen te vereenigen met t'Godlijcke wesen, als die t'beeldt en teecken des selven is. D'ander is de jongste dochter van Iuppiter en Dione, dese wort ghenoemt volcksche, vleeschlijcke, wellustige, gemeenlijck haer onthoudende in eensaem holen, en doncker plaetsen, om dat haer wercken verborgen willen wesen: dese noemt Pausanias te deser oorsaeck Melaena, dat is, de swarte'. As will be evident from this passage, there are also two aspects to Cupid. Indeed, it might be argued that all four deities are depicted in two aspects, the one celestial, the other terrestrial: the smoky face, turned left like Cupid's, portrays his baser nature;

The *penwerck* shows the goddess inhabiting precisely the sort of shaded, iso-lated spot described by Van Mander; her pose, standing from the waist down, reclining from the waist up, not only indicates that she has not yet reached her full stature—namely, strength—but also implies that she, like the sweethearts she inspires, shares a predilection for the lover's couch or bed. However, as Goltzius intimates, when Venus finally stands upright, and her power blazes at maximum strength, she will tower over Ceres and Bacchus. That the implanted faces belong to satyrs has to do with their function as attributes of Venus's power to stimulate sexual desire: as Van Mander puts it, they represent the 'pricking of Venus', her capacity to beget carnal love ('beteyckenende de prick-elinge van Venus').[78] That the faces appear nascent rather than fully formed, speaks to their status as indicators of love's ability to transmogrify all things. Van Mander makes this point by paraphrasing Petrarch's "Triumph of Love" from the *Trionfi*: 'Petrarch the Italian poet gives Cupid rainbow-colored wings in his "Triumph of Love", in order to make known that unchaste love, once it is unbound, is insatiable, always tending toward transformation and renewal'.[79] Furthermore, the partially glimpsed likenesses, their features still inchoate, directly derive from Petrarch's description of the captives marching behind Love's triumphal chariot, as its living spoils:

> With keen survey I mark'd the ghostly show,
> To find a shade among the sons of Woe
> To memory known: but every trace was lost
> In the dim features of the moving host:
> Oblivion's hand had drawn a dark disguise
> O'er their wan lineaments and beamless eyes.[80]

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the face projecting from the ledge, silhouetted like Ceres's, betrays her earthy side; and the young satyr whose face and figure repeat that of Bacchus, and who, like him, gazes ador-ingly at Venus, functions as his vulgar doppelgänger. On the potential fierceness of Cupid, inherited from the wild beasts that suckled him, see Van Mander, "Van Cupido", in ibidem, fol. 7 verso.

78   Van Mander, "Van den Satyren", in ibidem, fol. 11 verso: 'Sy zijn (meenen eenighe) gheno-emt Satyren, nae een Griecx woordt Sathe, beteyckenende de prickelinge van Venus'.

79   Van Mander, "Van Cupido", in ibidem, fol. 8 recto-verso: 'Petrarcha Italisch Poeet, in zijn Triumph der Liefde, geeft hem vleughels van duysenderley verwen, willende te kennen geven, dat d'oncuysche Liefde, ongebonden wesende, onversadigh is, altijts gheneghen tot veranderinghe, oft vernieuwinghe'.

80   Boyd H. A. M. (ed.–trans.), *The Triumphs of Petrarch* (London: 1807) 6.

The presence of faces in fire, earth, and wood, suggests that love, in its impulse to transform, knows no elemental boundaries. As Van Mander states with reference to Empedocles, love is like 'fiery heat, or again, like a Godly force that causes all created things to germinate'.[81] Caught in mid-formation, the dynamic countenances also call to mind Van Mander's assertion that love is a fundamentally mimetic impulse, for it compels all living things to fashion likenesses of themselves: 'Love, a Godly power, consists in a sure desire, found in all things, to bring forth one's image and likeness through union and coalescence'.[82] He reiterates this observation to underscore its importance: 'Venus [like Cupid] is construed truly as the desire of created things to bring forth their image and likeness'.[83] The likenesses of faces that coalesce from the drawing's dense networks of line, stand for this mimetic impulse that Venus, as the personification of love, sets in motion. Her presence gives rise to these feats of natural artifice because, as Van Mander further suggests, 'she presides over summer and the month of April, as goddess over orchards and gardens, wherein she is placed to foster propagation and growth'.[84]

Goltzius's astonishing penmanship, the index of his love of art, proxies for and is proxied by these instances of anthropomorphosis. Indeed, in the magnificent *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1606, the largest of his *penwercken*, he interpolates a self-portrait of himself offering burins at the altar of Venus: he thus implies that it is he, or rather, his penhand, that bodies forth the mimetic passion engendered by Venus.[85] Van Mander formulates this conceit complementarily in the chapter on the woodland deity Pan. Referring to the iconography of Pan wrestling with Cupid, he argues that the latter's victory demonstrates love's power over nature, for it is love, and love alone, that awakens nature's generative capacities: 'Love conquers Nature: and it is Love that stirs Nature,

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81   Ibidem, fol. 8 recto: '[…] oft een vyerige hitte, oft eyndlijck een Godtlijcke cracht, die aller schepselen wasdom gheeft, nae dat Empedocles seght'.

82   Ibidem: 'en dat Liefde een Godtlijcke cracht wesende, is een seker begheerte in alle dinghen, om hem te vereenighen en versamen, om zijn ghelijck wesen oft ghedaente te tellen'.

83   Ibidem: 'welcke Venus oock wordt ghehouden eyghentlijck te wesen de begheerte, die de schepselen hebben, voort te brenghen hun ghelijcke beeldt oft schepsel, welcke begheerte ontstaet uyt een wisse overeencominghe der lichaemen en ghematicheyt der Locht'.

84   Van Mander, "Van Venus", in ibidem, fol. 29 recto: 'Sy was ooc geheeten Somer oft April-Goddinne, en Godinne der Hoven oft Tuynen, daer sy in was gestelt om het teelen en wasdom'.

85   On Goltzius's self-portrait in the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* of 1606, see Melion, "Love and Artisanship" 60–62; and Nichols L. W., "Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus, 1606 (?)", in Leeflang – Luijten – et al., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617)* 277–79, no. 100.

generating her every form'.[86] In bringing the elements to life, anthropomor-
phizing them, Goltzius's Venus allegorizes the artist's ability to activate the
power of representation that lies dormant in nature until it is pricked by love.
At issue is his own artifice, his wondrous skill of hand, that the prodigies of
nature on view in the *Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres* may be seen boldly to portend.

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86   Van Mander, "Van Pan", in "Wtlegghingh", fol. 11 verso: 'Liefde verwint Natuere: Oock is
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Between Fiction and Reality: The Image Body in the Early Modern Theory of the Symbol

Ralph Dekoninck

From the Allegory to the Idol

In his *Dictionnaire universel*, Antoine Furetière gives the following definition for the verb 'Personnifier': 'To feign a character. The poets have personified all the passions and have turned them into the divinities that the pagans adopted'.[1] Half a century later, Denis Diderot, in the article on 'Anthropology' in the *Encyclopaedia*, gives the following definition of what we would today call 'anthropomorphism': 'An expression by which the sacred writers attribute to God some parts, actions or affections which suit only men, and this in order to adapt to the weakness of the human intelligence'.[2] In the context of the Enlightenment fighting against religious obscurantism, such definitions take a clear critical stance regarding the polytheist 'mistake', which consists precisely in anthropomorphism or personification as construed in the first essays on natural history of religion.[3] What was primarily denounced was not giving

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1 'Feindre un personnage. Les poètes ont personnifié toutes les passions et en ont fait des divinités que les Païens ont adoptees, comme la Deesse de la Persuasion, le Dieu du Sommeil, la Vengeance et les Furies, la Mollesse, l'Envie, la Discorde, la Gloire, la Fortune, la Victoire, etc'. Furetière A., *Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye-Rotterdam, Arnoud et Reinier Leers: 1701), 499.

2 'Manière de s'exprimer par laquelle les Ecrivains sacrés attribuent à Dieu des parties, des actions ou des affections qui ne conviennent qu'aux hommes, et cela pour s'accommoder et se proportionner à la faiblesse de notre intelligence ainsi il est dit dans la Genese, que Dieu *appella Adam*, qu'*il se repentit d'avoir créé l'homme*; dans les Pseaumes l'univers est appelé l'*ouvrage des mains de Dieu*: il y est encore dit que *ses yeux sont ouverts & veillent sur l'indigent.* Par toutes ces expressions & d'autres semblables qui se rencontrent fréquemment dans l'Ecriture, l'Esprit saint a seulement voulu nous faire entendre les choses ou les effets que Dieu opere comme s'il avoit mains, des yeux, *&c.* sans que cela préjudicie à la simplicité de son être'. Diderot D. – le Rond d'Alembert J., *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers* [1761–1765] (New York: 1969), vol. 1, p. 497. See Duchet M., *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: 1971) 407–475.

3 See Schmidt F., "Les polythéismes : dégénérescence ou progrès ?", in Schmidt F. (ed.), *L'impensable polythéisme. Études d'historiographie religieuse* (Paris: 1988), 13–91.

a human body to supernatural forces, but more fundamentally the invention of gods by incarnating what were originally ethical values.

Some authors from Antiquity had already tried to justify such divinisation of moral qualities.[4] For example, Cicero gives the following justification in his *De natura deorum*:

> Many divinities have with good reason been recognized and named both by the wisest men of Greece and by our ancestors from the great benefits that they bestow. For it was thought that whatever confers great utility on the human race must be due to the operation of divine benevolence towards men. Thus sometimes a thing sprung from a god was called by the name of the god himself [...]. In other cases some exceptionally potent force is itself designated by a title of divinity, for example Faith and Mind [...]. Those gods therefore who were the authors of various benefits owned their deification to the value of the benefits which they bestowed [...].[5]

If Cicero argues that the names of some divinities come from the benefits they bestow—the existence of these gods preceding their actions—he ultimately recognizes a process of deifying exceptionally potent forces. Thus, he betrays a certain ambivalence about the status of these divinities as real or fictive.

The euhemerist thesis, according to which the pagan pantheon came largely from the growing devotion to exceptionally virtuous human beings, the condemnation of anthropomorphosis was assimilated into the patristic literature. Augustine, as spearhead of the anti-pagan controversy, reproached the Romans for having attributed divinity to almost every motion of the mind,[6]

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4   For example, Abundance (*Ops*), Liberty (*Libertas*), Victory (*Victoria*), Piety (*Pietas*), Hope (*Spes*), Faith (*Fides*), Concorde (*Concordia*), etc.

5   'Multae autem aliae naturae deorum ex magnis beneficiis eorum non sine causa et a Graeciae sapientissimis et a maioribus nostris constituae nominataeque sunt. Quicquid enim magnam utilitatem generi adferret humano, id non sine divina bonitate erga hominess fieri arbitrabantur. Itaque tum illud quod erat a deo natum nomine ipsius dei nuncupabant [...] tum autem res ipsa in qua vis inest maior aliqua sic appellatur ut ea ipsa nominetur dues, ut Fides, ut Mens [...]. Utilitatum igitur magnitudine constituti sunt ei di qui utilitates quasque gignebant [...]'. Cicero, *De natura deorum academica*, ed. H. Rackham (London – Cambridge: 1951) 180–183.

6   'Are we to believe, they say, that our ancestors were so stupid as not to know that these things are divine gifts, and not gods? But since they knew that such gifts are not granted to anyone unless some god bestows them, in any case where they did not find the names of such gods, they gave them the names of the things that they believed came from them'. Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. W. M. Green (London – Cambridge: 1963), IV, XIV, 91.

thus mistaking for multiple gods those gifts granted by a singular God.[7] He therefore could do no less than denounce the fabulous origin of those *ficti dei*:

> Such indeed were the fancies they had about their gods; if the poets invented such fancies and we attacked them, they would reply that the fictions of the poets were only ridiculous stories, not to be taken seriously of the real deities. And yet they did not find themselves ridiculous when they were worshipping such absurdities in the temples, and not merely reading about them in the poets.[8]

However, the humanisation of the abstract ideas from which idolatry derives was primarily attributable not to poets but to sculptors: by assigning a body to what does not exist physically, these artisans helped confer the illusion of autonomous existence on what had only an imaginary or ideal reality. Thus, Augustine held that they were mainly responsible for giving bodily existence to what Cicero had called 'fictitious gods',[9] for promoting the belief 'that the image which is like a living body is not without a living inhabitant',[10] in short for inducing humans to worship that image. Consequently, for Augustine the bodily form provided humanity with the strongest incitement to idolatry.[11]

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[7]   He chooses also the example of *Fides* playing deliberately with the Pagan and Christian significances of this word: 'But why is Fides, or Faith, also believed to be a goddess. Why did she also receive a temple and an altar? Whoever wisely acknowledges her makes himself her shrine where she may dwell. But how do they know what faith is, of which her first and chief duty is to create belief in the one true God?' Augustine, *The City of God* IV, XX, 71.

[8]   Augustine, IV, XVII, 63.

[9]   Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, XXVIII, 70. This expression *ficti dei* is taken up by such Christian authors as Lactantius (*Divinae Institutiones* I, 17, 2), Augustine (*De civitate Dei* IV, 30) and Firmicus Maternus (*De errore profanarum religionum* 17, 4: 'Videtis ut istos commenticios et fictos deos turbulentus error excogitet, ut superstitionibus anilibus et formae nobis deorum generentur et nomina').

[10]   Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, ed. H. M. Wilkins (Oxford: 1853), vol. V, CXV, 3, 286. 'For this is a sort of necessary effect of this figure endued with limbs, that the mind which liveth in the bodily senses, should be inclined to suppose that the body which it seeth so closely to resemble its own body, is more apt to feel than a circular sun and an expanse of waves, and any thing which is beholdeth not formed with the same features as those which it constantly seeth with life'. Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms* CXV, 5, 287–288.

[11]   '[…] they might see how shameful a thing it is to worship a dumb idol, destitute of life and sensibility; possessed of a resemblance to human limbs for this reason, that a soul devoted to carnal senses might yield its affection to a figure that seemed to live and have animation, when it saw those members which it knew to be endued with life and animation in its own body'. Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms* CXV, 2, 285).

From the Idol to the *impresa*

Let us now consider the posterity of this interpretation of pagan religion dur-
ing the Renaissance, a time when Christian images underwent a profound cri-
sis even while the pagan gods were subject to aesthetic revival. The problem
of the image body appeared then to be a central issue in debates about the
borders between works of art and religious images. The success of allegory, and
Renaissance symbolism more generally, epitomizes the hesitation about the
status of the image, balancing being against fiction, opacity against reflexivity.
To question the body of the image as the vector for a *translatio*—either to a
meaningful prototype or as an incitement to a gratuitous pleasure—is to ques-
tion the desire provoked by the image, a desire that can either aid or obstruct
the process of signification. How could a body in all its obviousness mean or
symbolise anything? If this is the body which first appears to the eyes, in all
its ugliness or splendour, it is just the outer layer inhabited by an animating
principle: the *anima* which can be identified with real beauty or, in a Christian
perspective, with authentic resemblance to God. One needs literally to open
the image-body to discover inside the meaning-spirit which is its vital source;
it is necessary to penetrate it in order to expose its deepest meaning.[12] In short,
does this approach to anthropomorphism imply that the image is the prison
of meaning just as the body is the prison of the mind (to draw on the antique
topos)?

Two ways existed of convincing oneself that the image is not an empty
shell—to reanimate images: one dependent on the Neo-Platonic tradition, the
other indebted to the Aristotelian philosophy. Ernst Gombrich has highlighted
the confrontation between these two modes of thought underlying the theo-
ries of the symbol during the Renaissance, a time when the borders between
symbolization and embodiment, representation and revelation continued to
be blurred.[13] This twilight region between the literal and the metaphorical

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'This is the chief cause of this insane profanity, that the figure resembling the living per-
son, which induces men to worship it, hath more influence in the minds of these miser-
able persons, than the evident fact that it is not living, so that it ought to be despised by
the living'. Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms* CXV, 6, 288.

12   See Didi-Huberman G., *L'image ouverte. Motifs de l'incarnation dans les arts visuels* (Paris:
        2007).

13   Gombrich E. H., "Icones symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought", *Journal of
        the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948) 163–192. Gombrich E. H., "Icones symbolicae:
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        Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: 1978) 123–195.

demonstrates clearly that 'there is no clear gulf separating the material, visible world from the sphere of the spirit and of spirits'.[14] What indeed was the nature of concepts and personifications of values? Are there pure conventions and fictions? Or should we recognize them as genuine incarnations of ideas? In other words, are we dealing with real bodies or fictitious bodies? To illustrate this question, Gombrich chose the example of *Fortuna*, as Cicero and Augustine had done before him: is this figure 'a symbol of the vicissitudes of life or a capricious demon intervening in our fate'?[15] To explain this indistinction between symbolization and embodiment, he recalls the antique origin of this kind of image, the origin of which Renaissance authors knew well:

> After all, allegorical painting grew out of the religious imagery of classical antiquity and here the borderline between mythical beings which can be represented and abstractions which can be symbolized is particularly hard to define. Gods fade imperceptibly into mere personifications of concepts and abstract ideas suddenly take on vitality as of daemonic powers.[16]

If we turn now to the symbolic literature of the sixteenth century, it appears that the animating source of the image comes no longer from its own being but from the 'voice over' of the poet. According to that literature, the devitalized body of the image still needs a soul. And this soul will be given by the poetic speech that literally animates it, as the Lyonnaise humanist Barthelemy Aneau claimed in the preface of his *Imagination poétique*. He recounts the discovery in his printer's workshop of a series of 'mute' prints that served to illustrate a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* published two years previously:

> I have private familiarity with the Lyonnaise printer Macé Bonhomme, thanks to which, once I was in his house, I discovered some little figures designed and engraved, asking him what they served; he replied to me: nothing, for they had no inscriptions proper to them, or if they had had, these had been lost. Then, estimating that they couldn't have been done without causes, I promised him that from mute and dead I would render

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14 Gombrich (1948), "Icones symbolicae" 165.

15 Gombrich (1948), "Icones symbolicae" 165.

16 Gombrich (1948), "Icones symbolicae" 165–166.

them speaking and living, by endowing them with a soul, thanks to the liveliness of poetry.[17]

There is no more reference here to any personified virtues coming alive through possession by a demonic power; still, the image continued to be assimilated to a body waiting for an animating soul. But this soul is now given by poetic speech.

Exactly at the same moment, Paolo Giovio was setting rules for the art of fashioning the *impresa* that consists in a 'right proportion of soul and body' ('Giusta proportione d'anima & di corpo'),[18] that is, a combination of a text and an image. This definition is accompanied by the rule excluding any human figuration in the image ('non ricerca alcuna forma humana').[19] We are facing here the paradox of an image-body rejecting the representation of the human body, because the latter aims at expressing the soul of the possessor of such an *impresa*, a soul definitely identified with the *motto*. The image figures the moral quality of a person, who in a way personifies this quality.

In his *Traité des devises* of 1620, the French Adrien d'Amboise continues to argue in the same way: 'The body of the *impresa* is the painting which presents itself as an object to our senses. The soul is the word which animates what is painted'.[20] If we are dealing here with a *topos*, the originality of the following comparison with Scripture is worth underlining: 'the wise Hebrews said that all of Holy Scripture is similar to an animal whose body is the text and the words; but the soul is the obscure meaning hidden inside'.[21] Here the text is assimilated to a body that needs to be opened to discover the hidden meaning. The truth needs to be sought under the skin of appearances, or literal meaning. And this is particularly true when it is applied to the things and deeds related

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17 'J'ay privée familiarité à Macé Bonhomme imprimeur lyonnois, par laquelle estant un jour en sa maison, trouvay quelques petites Figures pourtraictes et taillées, demandant à quoy elles servoient: me respondit, A rien, pour n'avoir point d'inscriptions propres a icelles, ou si aucunement en avoyent eu, icelles estre perdues pour luy. Alors je estimant que sans cause n'avoient esté faictes, *luy promis que de muettes et mortes, je les rendrois parlantes et vives : leur inspirant ame, par vive Poësie*'. Aneau B., *L'imagination poëtique* (Lyon, M. Bonhomme: 1552) 6.

18 Giovio P., *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose . . .* (Lyon, G. Rouillé: 1559) 9.

19 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 9.

20 'Le corps de la devise, c'est la peinture qui se presente pour object à nos sens; l'Ame c'est le mot qui anime ce qui est peint'. D'Amboise A., *Discours ou traicté des devises où est mise la raison et difference des Emblemes, Enigmes, Sentences & autres* (Paris, R. Boutonne: 1620) 21.

21 '[. . .] ainsi les sages Hebrieux disoient toute la loy, voyre toute l'Escriture sainte, estre semblable à un animal, duquel le corps ce sont le texte et les mots; mais l'ame s'en est le sens obscur caché au dessoubz [. . .]'. D'Amboise, *Discours ou traicté des devises* 21–22.

in the Bible, to historical realities interpreted as *signa translata*. As the French Jesuit Louis Richeome wrote in his *Trois discours pour la religion catholique*, 'Holy Scripture has always to be understood as a whole, composed by its letter and by its spirit, by its body and by its soul, by its matter and by its form; its spirit, its soul, its form—this is the meaning that the Holy Spirit has infused and hidden there'.[22]

Another French Jesuit, Pierre Le Moyne, applied this idea to the *impresa's* image assimilated to a shapeless material:

> [...] the figure that it exhibits to the view [is] like a vague and shapeless matter, capable of conveying various and contrary meanings, of many applications and even sometimes opposites; it is necessary to add some words that restrain this general ability to signify, assigning it to a specific signification. From there, perhaps, comes the fact that the figure of the Impresa has been called 'body' because it has no signifying specificity, as in Nature, simple bodies have no specificity of being; and as in Art, a piece of marble into which the chisel has not yet cut has no mimetic specificity, and may become, depending on the good will of the sculptor, either Hercules or a Nymph or a Satyr.[23]

The semiotic arguments used here try to explain the conception of the image as a body through an interesting comparison with sculpture. Only the accompanying word gives shape, that is meaning, to the intrinsic polysemous nature of the image.

At the same moment a new conception of the text-image relationship emerges, especially in the work of the great Italian theoretician of the *impresa*, Emanuele Tesauro. The simplistic identification between image and body on

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22   'La saincte Escriture est toujours entiere, composée de sa lettre & de son esprit, de son corps & de son ame, de sa matiere & de sa forme ; son esprit, son ame, & sa forme, c'est le sens que le S. Esprit y a soufflé & caché'. Richeome L., *Trois discours pour la religion catholique: des miracles, des saincts et des images* (Bordeaux, S. Millange: 1597) 815.

23   'la figure qu'elle expose à la veuë [est] come une matiere vague & informe, capable des sens divers & contraires, d'applications differentes, & quelquesfois mesmes opposées; il est necessaire de luy adjouter des paroles, qui resserrent cette capacité de signifier generalement, & la determinant à une signification particuliere. Delà vient, peut estre, qu'on a donné le nom de corps à la figure de la Devise, parce qu'elle a une indifference de signifier, comme dans la Nature, les Corps simples ont une indifference d'estre: & dans l'Art, une piece de marbre que le ciseau n'a point encore entamee, à une indifference de representation; & peut devenir sous le bon plaisir du Sculpteur, ou un Hercule, ou un Narcisse, ou une Nimphe, ou une Satire'. Le Moyne P., *De l'art des devises* (Paris, S. Cramoisy: 1666) 41.

the one side, and between text and soul on the other, is abandoned by Tesauro for a new conception of the process of signification, named *argutezza*, rising from the text-image confrontation. The *argutezza* accomplishes a miracle, in which 'mute things speak, the insensitive starts to live, the dead revive; tombs, marbles, statues receiving voice, spirit and movement from this enchantment of the souls talk ingeniously with ingenious men'.[24] It is no longer a question here of a *daemon* inhabiting the statues, but of the power of poetic speech, combined with the artistic image, giving birth to meaning or breathing life into its creation.

The French Jesuit Claude-François Ménestrier inherited this conception from Tesauro.[25] For him, the *impresa*, as something perceptible by the external senses, is defined as 'a body composed of figures and words'.[26] From now on, text and image would comprise the same body, while *anima* would have to be sought at the heart of their alliance, or from the product of their fusion, as Judi Loach has convincingly shown.[27] It is worth noting that Ménestrier extended this comparison to the field of emblems, which he characterized as 'representations that express various moral teachings'.[28] The two parts of an emblem are the following, according to Ménestrier: 'the figures which are the bodies' ('les figures, qui en font les corps') and 'their significance, or moral meaning, which is the soul of these bodies, and the form which gives them all their beauty'

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24   'Ma non solamente per virtù di questa divina Pito, il parlar delgi Huomini Ingegnosi, tanto
      si differntia da quel de' Plebei ; quanto il parlar delgi Angeli, da quel degli Huomini ; ma
      per miracolo de lei, le cose Mutole parlano, le insensate vivono, le morte risorgono, le
      Tombe, i Marmi, le Statue, da questa incantatrice degli animi, ricevendo voce, spirito,
      e movimento, con gli Huomini ingegnosi, ingegnosamente discorrono'. Tesauro E., *Il
      Cannocchiale artistotelico o sia Idea dell'arguta et ingeniosa elocutione che serve à tutta
      l'Arte oratoria, lapidaria et simbolica . . .* (Turin, B. Zauatta: 1670) 2.

25   See Loach J., "L'influence de Tesauro sur le Père Menestrier", in Serroy J. (ed.), *La France et
      l'Italie au temps de Mazarin* (Grenoble: 1986) 167–171.

26   This definition is given in his manuscript treatise devoted to the *impresa: Traité de l'Art
      des Devises*, Ms Baudrier 1514, Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 134. The devise is also
      defined as 'un corps composé de figures naturelles et artificielles et de quelques paroles
      exprimant quelques unes de nos pensées, ou l'estat où nous nous trouvons ou celuy
      d'aultry par la voye de la ressemblance methaphorique fondee sur la proprieté de la figure
      designee par le mot'. Ménestrier, *Traité de l'Art des Devises* 129.

27   Loach J., "Body and Soul: a Transfer of Theological Terminology into the Aesthetic Realm",
      Emblematica 12 (2002) 31–60. Loach J., "Menestrier's Emblem Theory", *Emblematica* 2
      (1987) 317–336. Loach stresses the evolution of Menestrier's thought on this question.

28   'représentation qui exprime quelque enseignement moral'. Ménestrier C.-F., *L'Art des
      emblèmes où s'enseigne la morale par les figures de la fable, de l'histoire, & de la nature*
      (Lyon, B. Coral: 1662) 15.

('leur signification, ou leur sens moral, qui est l'ame de ces corps, & la forme, qui leur donne toute leur beauté').[29] In this case, the image no longer requires the help of the verbal element, which is now conceived of as an 'accidental part'. Ménestrier proceeds in this way to imply the priority of image over word in this task of persuasion, by citing Lucan's *Pharsalia*, as translated by Michel de Marolles:[30]

> An ingenious Art
> Of painting the word, & of speaking to the eyes;
> And by various strokes of drawn figures
> Giving colour & body to thoughts.[31]

From the *impresa* to the *iconologia*

The mention of colour in this quotation and of beauty in the previous one indicates the new importance of the eloquence of the image trying to seduce in order better to teach. Such a rhetorical dimension comes together with the insistence on the passions that the bodily figure communicates. To explore this shift, the field of iconology is the best laboratory. Defined by Ménestrier as the 'painting of purely moral things as if they were living persons' ('peinture des choses purement morales, comme si elles étoient des personnes vivantes'), iconology, 'gives a body to the most spiritual things and the most remote things from the senses' ('l'iconologie donne corps aux choses les plus spirituelles et les plus éloignées des sens').[32] But what exactly is the nature of these things? To answer this question, we must turn to the founder of the genre, Cesare Ripa. In the foreword of his *Iconology* of 1593, he distinguishes two kinds of images:

> In the first sense they were often used by the ancients, simulating many figures of the gods. Which are nothing else but veils and clothing to cover the part of Philosophy that treats of procreation and the putrefaction of

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29   Ibidem 50.

30   De Marolles M., *Les Oeuvres de Lucain* (Paris, A. de Sommaville: 1647). The original text, Marcus Annaeus Lucanus' *Bellum Civile*, was commonly known in the early modern period as the *Pharsalia*, in Marolles' translation *Pharsale*.

31   'Un Art ingenieux/ De peindre la parole, & de parler aux yeux;/ Et par les traits divers des figures tracées/ Donner de la couleur & du corps aux pensées'. Ménestrier, *L'Art des emblèmes* 5–6.

32   Ménestrier C.-F., *La Philosophie des images énigmatiques* (Lyon, H. Baritel: 1694) 135.

natural things, of the form of the heavens and the influence of the stars, of the solidness of the Earth, and other such like things. [...] And hence came the great multitude of fables of the ancient writers.[33]

Thus, under this first category fall those ancient images which are presented as the corporal form or, more precisely, as the clothing of philosophical ideas, Ripa evoking in that way the path from Fable to Religion. Concerning the 'second manner of figures', this 'concerns those things which are in humanity itself, or which have much in common with it'.[34] This definition would fit the *impresa*, except for the fact that we are moving gradually from the realm of abstract ideas to the realm of the passions. And no other form is better suited

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33   'Nel primo modo furono trattate da molti antichi, fingendo le imagini delle Deità, le quali non sono altro, che ueli, ò uestimenti da tenere ricoperta quella parte di Filosofia, che riguarda la generatione, & la corrotione delle cose naturali, ò la dispositione de' Cieli, ò l'influenza delle Stelle, ò la fermezza della Terra, ò altre simili cose. [...] Di quì è nata la gran moltitudine delle fauole de gli antichi Scrittori [...]'. Ripa C., *Iconologia overo Descrittione dell'Imagini universali cavate dall'Antichita et da altri luoghi* (Roma, Eredi Gigliotti: 1593), *Proemio*. Here is the French translation/adaptation by Jean Baudouin: 'La premiere sorte d'Images a esté familiere aux Anciens, comme il se remarque par les diverses peintures qu'ils ont feintes en faveur de leurs Dieux; qui ne sont à proprement parler que des voiles ou des vestemens propres à couvrir cette partie de la Philosophie, qui regarde ou la generation des choses naturelles, ou leur corruption, ou la disposition des cieux, ou l'influence des Astres, ou la solidité de la terre. [...] De cette source, que l'on ne sçauroit jamais tarir, ont esté puisées toutes les Fables des Anciens, et toutes les explications que les plus grands hommes de leur siecle nous en ont données'. Ripa C., *Iconologie ou nouvelle explication de plusieurs images, emblèmes & autres Figures Hyerogliphiques des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences, des Causes Naturelles, des Humeurs différentes, des Passions humaines, &c.* (Paris, L. Billaine: 1677), *Préface* n.p. Amongst the examples of allegorical interpretations of pagan fables, Ripa quotes the examples of Saturn and Venus: 'Wherefore, many eminent men have judged that it was well worth their labor to expound those things which they found hidden in these fables. Leaving unto us in writing, that by the figure of Saturn, they understood Time [...]. Also they understood by the figure of the Beautiful Venus, the appetite or desire of the first matter or stuff, to the form or figure which gives her perfectness, as the Philosophers call it' (Ripa, *Iconologia, Proemio*). 'Par l'Image de Saturne se doit entendre le Temps, qui devore ses propres enfans, c'est à dire les iours, les mois, & les années. [...] Par celle de Venus, l'union de la premiere Matiere avecque la Forme d'où luy vient la perfection [...]'. (Ripa, *Iconologie, Préface*).

34   'Il secondo modo dell'imagini abbraccia quelle cose, che sono nell'huomo medisimo, o che hanno gran vicinanza con esso, come I concetti, & gli habiti' (Ripa, *Iconologia, Proemio*). 'La seconde sorte d'Images, comprend les choses qui sont en l'homme mesme, & inseparables d'avecque luy' (Ripa, *Iconologie, Préface*).

to figure all the movements of the soul: 'since Man is the measure of all things', so likewise his exterior Form ought to be looked upon as the measure of the Qualities of his Soul.[35] 'Let us therefore take heed that we do not call this an image [in our object], that has not a human form'.[36] This striking last sentence sums up very well the project of Ripa: the body is the measure of all things. But here, too, what is the status of these things? If we read Ripa—and even more his followers—correctly, we can recognize that these things designate essentially what animates the human soul. For example, Jean-Baptiste Boudard, the author of an *Iconologie* dating from the mid-eighteenth century, defined this symbolic knowledge as 'the art of personifying the passions, the virtues, the vices, and all the different states of life'.[37] The previously central question of attributes is no longer essential, the fundamental goal now being to express in the body the motions of the mind:

> However, attributes [alone] do not suffice to characterize an iconological figure. The intelligent Painter has still another way of increasing the power to distinguish among [such figures]: that is, the study and knowledge of the passions of the human heart.[38]

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35   'Percioche, si come l'huomo tutto è misura di tutte le cose, secondo la commune opinione de Filosofi, & d'Aristotile in particolare, quasi come la definitione è misura del definito, cosi medesimamente la forma accidentale, che apparisce esteriormente d'esso, può esser misura accidentale delle qualità definibili, qualunque si siano, ò dell'anima nostra sola, ò di tutto il compost' (Ripa, *Iconologia, Proemio*). Car estant veritable, selon Aristote, que l'homme est la mesure de toutes choses, comme la Definition l'est du Definy, il n'est pas incompatible que sa forme exterieure ne soit aussi la mesure des Qualitez qui peuvent estre deffinies, soit à l'esgard de l'Ame seule, ou de tout le Composé' (Ripa, *Iconologie, Préface*).

36   'Adunque vediamo, che Imagine non si puo dimandare in proposito nostro quella, che non ha la forma del huomo' (Ripa, *Iconologia, Proemio*). 'D'où il faut conclurre, que ce qui n'a point forme d'homme n'est pas Image' (Ripa, *Iconologie, Préface*).

37   'l'art de personnifier les passions, les vertus, les vices, et tous les différents états de la vie'. Boudard J.-B., *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs . . .* (Parme, J.-B. Boudard: 1759) 4. Cited by Spica A.-E., *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique. L'évolution et les genres (1580–1700)* (Paris: 1996) 486.

38   'Les attributs toutefois ne suffisent pas pour caractériser une figure iconologique, le Peintre intelligent a encore un autre moyen d'y ajouter une force très propre à les faire distinguer; c'est l'étude et la connaissance des passions du cœur humain'. Boudard, *Iconologie* 5.

By paving the way towards a new model that would dominate throughout the seventeenth century, Ripa appears paradoxically as the founder and the grave-digger of an allegorical culture that waned only at the end of the seventeenth century. From iconology, heir of the antique psychomachy, we move progressively towards physiognomony understood as 'knowledge of the body', a theory linking physical appearance with state of mind.

Regardless of symbolical markers, the body speaks by itself of itself, as an inextricable compound of spirit and flesh. In this new epistemological frame, corporal signs are no longer approached as symbols but rather as indices. And what is valid for the body is also valid for the image. The body of the image has secured its autonomy, its mute eloquence obviating the need for any verbal supplement. It becomes the place of seduction, as the triumph of the 'colourists' in France will confirm.

In this new context, ancient personifications are no longer fashionable, especially at a moment when their pagan origins were enphasized. In the entry 'Personify' of his *Dictionnaire universel*, Furetière recalls, as we have seen, that this practice comes from 'the poets who have personified all the passions and have turned them into the divinities that the pagans adopted'.[39] In the middle of the eighteenth century, Noël-Antoine Pluche would circle back to this double critique of allegory and idolatry, denouncing the transformation of fiction into reality. If truth has been primitively concealed in symbolic images in order to avoid desecration, such obscurity leads paradoxically to profanation under the form of idolatry, which is nothing less than the failure of any symbolic process and the symmetrical success of literality. Finally, purely symbolical bodies were taken for real beings:

> Unfortunately those allegories as well as all their fables, and even their jokes about the ancient symbols, survive as so many stories which have fed little by little the horrible heap of pagan mythologies.[40]

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39   Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* 499.

40   '[…] malheureusement ces allégories aussi bien que toutes leurs fables, et même leurs plaisanteries sur les anciens symboles se perpétuèrent comme autant d'histoires dont s'est grossi peu à peu l'horrible amas des mythologies païennes'. Pluche N.-A., *Histoire du Ciel, où l'on recherche l'origine de l'idolâtrie, et les méprises de la philosophie, sur la formation des corps célestes, et de toute la nature* (Paris, Frères Estienne: 1788) 5. See Boch J., *Les Dieux désenchantés. La fable dans la pensée française de Huet à Voltaire (1680–1760)* (Paris: 2002) 482–488.

This leads to a plea for more clarity in pictorial invention in order to abandon all the allegorical vestiges from the past. About this refusal of any allegorical language, Pluche wrote:

> As a painting is only conceived to show me what it doesn't tell me, it is ridiculous that we need effort to understand it [...]. And usually, when I succeed in guessing the meaning of these mysterious personages, I find that what I receive was not worth the expense of the envelope.[41]

This new conception, according to which no image has any need of an accompanying discourse to be fully understood, opens the way to a certain modernist *doxa* that promoted the autonomy of painting, and even more the legitimacy of pleasure taken from the 'body' of the image.

To conclude, I would like to quote a last excerpt from Le Moyne's oeuvre which illustrates this reconversion of the fictitious bodies of the pagan gods into eloquent bodies conceived as *imagines agentes*: 'The Priests of Paganism [...] locked themselves in the Idols of their Gods, and spoke to the people through their mouths, in order to gain more authority and through them to be listened to religiously and, as it were, cultishly'.[42] This figure of the priest speaking inside the body of the idol is not used to denounce pagan idolatry but to define the *prosopopoeia* that is the figure of speech in which an animal, inanimate object or abstract concept is ascribed human characteristics or is spoken of in anthropomorphic language. What was previously conceived of as a kind of religious lie is now experienced as an efficacious way to convey and to convince by giving life to fiction. Anthropomorphism appears no longer as a deceptive device leading to superstition but as an ingenious trick sustaining eloquence in order better to please and edify.

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41 'Puisqu'un tableau n'est destiné qu'à me montrer ce qu'on ne me dit pas, il est ridicule qu'il faille des efforts pour l'entendre [...]. Et pour l'ordinaire, quand je suis parvenu à deviner l'intention de ces personnages mystérieux, je trouve que ce qu'on m'apprend ne valait guère les frais de l'enveloppe'. Pluche, *Histoire du Ciel* 387.

42 '[...] les Prestres du Paganisme [...] s'enfermoient dans les Idoles de leurs Dieux, & parloient au Peuple par leur bouche, afin d'avoir plus d'authorité et se faire escouter religieusement et avec une sorte de culte'. Le Moyne P., *Les Peintures morales, où les passions sont representées par tableaux, par charactères, & par questions nouvelles & curieuses* (Paris, S. Cramoisy: 1640) *avertissement* n.p.

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Anthropomorphosis and Its Conditions

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CHAPTER 13

Anthropomorphizing the Orders: 'Terms' of Architectural Eloquence in the Northern Renaissance

Elizabeth J. Petcu

'I cannot make myself subtler. Therefore, one compares me to crude things.'[1] So proclaims author Gabriel Krammer, disguised as the anthropomorphic post whose words and image are inscribed in an etching of Tuscan ornaments in the artist's *Architectura* [Fig. 13.1]. Composed in 1598 at the Prague court of Emperor Rudolf II, this master-woodworker's architectural self-portrait indeed serves a deceptively lowly role. His body performs the inglorious work of a weight-bearing column. As a member of the Tuscan Order, he also belongs to the least refined of the canonical architectural modes. Yet for those familiar with the commonplace that only artistic genius could produce such a 'speaking' image, Krammer's portrait and its remarks actually testify to his superlatively subtle nature. In suggesting that audiences compare his expressive architectural likeness with 'crude things' like the rough-hewn post at his side, the artist also conveys a keen insight: architecture addresses audiences through the human analogy. Through the image of man, authors in northern Europe made architecture speak.

1 Krammer G., *ARCHITECTVRA VON DEN FVNF SEVLEN SAMBT IREN ORNAMENTEN VND ZIERDEN ALS NEMLICH TVSCANA. DORICA IONICA CORINTIA COMPOSITA. IN RECHTER MAS TEILVNG VND PROPORTZION. MIT DEN EXEMPLEN DER BERVMBTEN ANTIQVITETEN SO DVRCH DEN MERENTAIL SICH MIT DER LEER VITRVVII VERGLEICHEN. AVCH DAR ZV NVTZLICH ETLICHE GEOMET: RISCHE STVCKLEIN: Mit Sonderlichem Fleiss Zusammen getragen vnd Gebessert Durch Gabrielen Krammer Von Zürich. Dischler vnd Ir Röms Kay: May: Leib Trabanten guardi pfeiffer. Ietzo Zu prag.* (Prague: 1600) Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (SAX) NA2810 .K86q 13: 'ICH KAN MICH NIT SVBTILER MACHE: DARVM GLEICHT MAN MICH ZV GROBE Sache'. This earliest, documented edition is not paginated. Page references in this study follow the system used in Irmscher G., "Gabriel Krammer (1564–1606)—der vergessene 'Rudolfiner' ", *Umění/Art* XLVI (1998) 234–244.
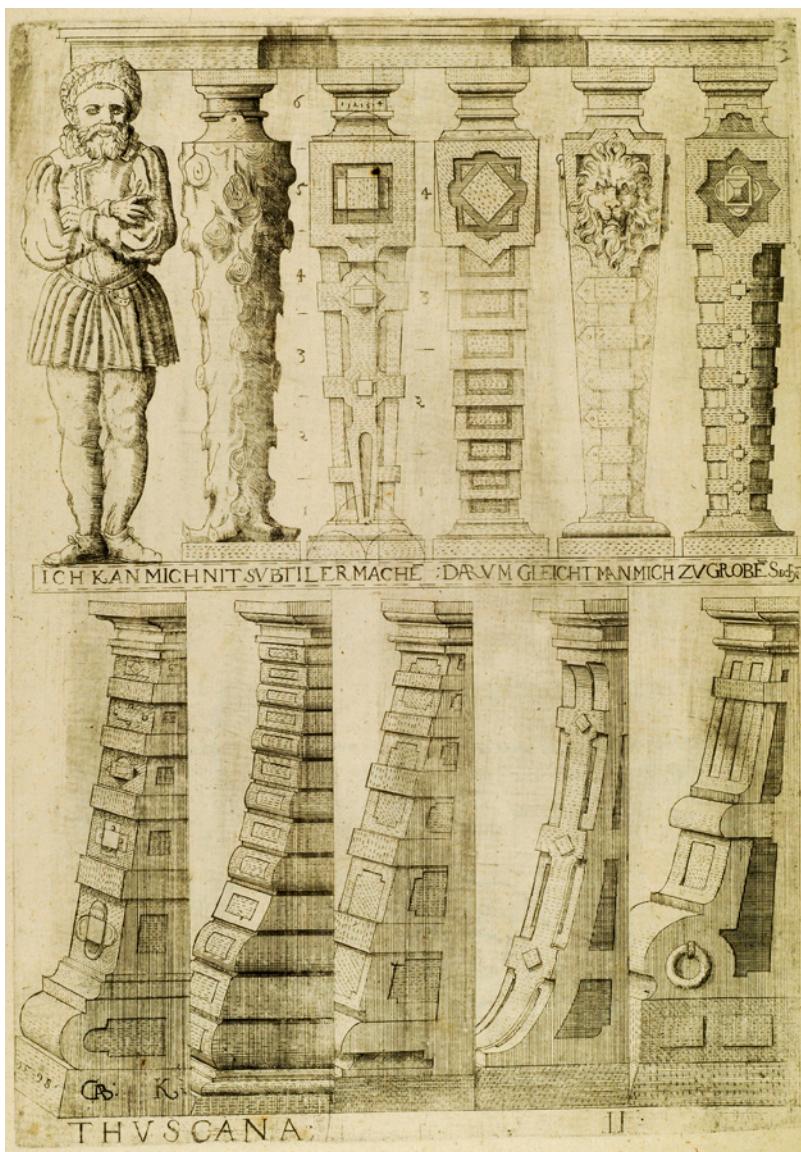
FIGURE 13.1   *Gabriel Krammer, "THVSCANA II" (1598). Etched illustration to*
              Krammer's ARCHITECTVRA VON DEN FVNF SEVLEN [...]
              (Prague: 1600) 13. Princeton, Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology,
              Princeton University, (SAX) NA2810 .K86q.

A more sweeping play of contradictions unfolds in the prints and books that shaped Renaissance architectural culture in this region. It arises from the clash between convention and invention in models for eloquent architecture.[2] Krammer and other sixteenth-century theorists regarded the expression of meaning as a vital term of good architecture, and a fundamental task of the architect. Signaling aspects of a monument's significance—qualities like its purpose or stature—was key to projecting patrons' desired messages and to persuading audiences that their architecture served its role well.[3] Following conventions distilled around the middle of the century, theorists portrayed the canonical Orders as tools for eloquently and thus persuasively conveying meaning in architecture. They did this by relating the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite Orders to human types who each personified certain abstract qualities. Most argue that this framework is vital to coherent architectural rhetoric.[4] At the same time, their publications depict novel variations on the image of the Orders that follow this advice selectively. Many portray these inventions as elements of a more comprehensive system for

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2   The tension between decorum and license is conceived in Erik Forssman's foundational account of northern Mannerist architectural theory principally in terms of the history of style. That this tension also transformed notions of the Renaissance architect's artistic agency and knowledge, and in northern Europe created conditions for architects to claim a broader artistic purview, are the respective contributions of more recent studies by Alina Payne and Christopher P. Heuer. In a forthcoming dissertation, this author examines how the roles that topics like figuration came to play in architectural literature as a result of these clashes altered definitions of artistic expertise in early modern northern Europe. See Forssman E., *Säule und Ornament. Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Stockholm Studies in History of Art I (Stockholm: 1956); Payne A., *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture.* (Cambridge – New York: 1999); Heuer C. P., *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London – New York: 2009); Petcu E. J., *Orders of Elaboration: Wendel Dietterlin and the* Architectura (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University: forthcoming).

3   Ulrich Fürst describes how these values evolved in early modern German architectural literature. See Fürst U. "Die Kategorie der Bedeutung in der deutschsprachigen Architekturtheorie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr Verhältnis zur baukünstlerischen Gestaltung", in Hoppe S. – Müller M. – Nußbaum N. (eds.), *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance. Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*, Sigurd Greven-Kolloquium zur Renaissanceforschung 2 (Regensburg: 2008) 350–375.

4   Günther H., "Die Lehre von den Säulenordnungen", in Günther H. (ed.), *Deutsche Architekturtheorie zwischen Gotik und Renaissance* (Darmstadt: 1988) 95.

representation in architecture, yet project an inconsistent picture of the Orders that ultimately obscures meaning.[5]

The advent of anthropomorphic images for the five canonical Orders exemplifies this tension. Architectural theorists once anthropomorphized these modern Orders in text alone.[6] Beginning around the last third of the sixteenth century, painter-architect Hans Vredeman de Vries and subsequent artists released prints and treatises that *pictured* the figures we now define as terms and herms as anthropomorphic forms of the Orders.[7] Since they derived these so-called '*Termen*' from the capricious grotesquerie of Mannerist ornament and at first presented conflicting accounts of the motif's relation to the theory of the Orders, these publications have been seen as awkward efforts to augment a symbolic vocabulary for architecture, and as mere parodies of the Orders as a system for eloquent architectural expression.[8] This paper contextualizes Vredeman's innovation, and scrutinizes the ways Krammer developed the idea when they worked together at the court of Rudolf II some three decades

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5   Julius von Schlosser first argued that this literature pursues universal systems of architectural symbolism. Forssman's related hypothesis that this tradition produced a consistent, legible code of architectural iconography is now contested. Fürst observes that many northern treatises' text and illustrations contradict each other, and thus provide no such fixed framework. See von Schlosser J., *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna: 1924) 367; Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 34; Fürst, "Die Kategorie der Bedeutung" 363.

6   On anthropomorphism in period architecture and the theme of anthropomorphism in period architectural theory, see Muchka I. "Anthropomorphismus in der Architektur um 1600", in Konečný L. – Bukovinská B. – Muchka I. (eds.), *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World: Papers from the International Conference, Prague, 2–4 September, 1997* (Prague: 1998) 57–63. On historical modes of anthropomorphizing the Orders and the advent of anthropomorphic images for the five canonical Orders, see Rykwert J., *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge, MA – London: 1996) esp. 32–34.

7   This development was an important aspect of a more general phenomenon, in which theorists began visualizing the five canonical Orders as anthropomorphic types. In 1563, roughly contemporaneously with Vredeman's innovation, English theorist John Shute published images of the Orders in the guise of five human figures in *THE FIRST AND CHIEF GROVNDES OF ARCHITECTVRE vsed in all the anncient and famous monymentes* [...] (London, Thomas Marshe: 1563). These became key models for Krammer and other authors who pictured the canonical Orders as human types. See Hart V. "From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books", in Hart V. – Hicks P. (eds.), *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise* (New Haven – London: 1998) 297–318, esp. 298–312.

8   For the former interpretation, see Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 148; for the latter, see Chastel A., *La grottesque* (Paris: 1988) 60.

later.[9] By respectively showing how to invent anthropomorphic forms that manifested an Order's metaphorical character, and demonstrating how those forms should also manifest the Order's conventional proportions, Vredeman and Krammer realized a new, versatile rhetoric through which architecture vividly conveyed meaning.

Vernacular

Some time in the mid-1560s, Vredeman and Antwerp publisher Gerard de Jode released the *Caryatidum* (*vulgus termas vocat*), or, 'Caryatids (called 'terms' by commoners)', a series of etchings featuring terms and other ornamental bodies [Fig. 13.2].[10] While references to caryatids abounded in modern Vitruvian texts,

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9   The prevalence of Dutch and German publications in the large body of works that shaped the use of terms as forms of the canonical Orders prompts the selection of cases considered in this study. It is nonetheless important to note that the motif was also an interest of French theorists like Jacques I. Androuet du Cerceau, Joseph Boillot, and Hugues Sambin, whose 1572 *OEVVRE DE LA DIVERSITE DES TERMES* [...] also presented terms as manifestations of the five Orders. See Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 143–148; and Zorach R., *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago – London: 2005) 129–134.

10   Vredeman de Vries H., *CARYATIDVM (VVLGVS TERMAS VOCAT) SIVE ATHALANTIDVM MVLTIFORMIVM AD QVEMLIBET ARCHITECTVRE ORDINEM ACCOMMODATARVM CENTVRIA PRIMA IN VSVM HVIVS ARTIS CANDIDATORVM ARTIFICIOSE EXCOGITATA. Veelderleÿ dieuerse Termen op de V ordene der Edificien tot behoef alle Beelt ende Steenhouwers Scrinwerkers Glaesscriuers ende alle Constelicke hantwerkers oft alle die de Antieckse Compertementsche Cieraet Beminnen Geinuenteert duer Johannes Vreedman Vriese GERAR: DE IODE EXCVD(EBAT)*. (Antwerp, Gerard de Jode: c. 1565) Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München Inv.-Nr. 60678 D. See Fuhring P. – Luitjen G. (eds.), *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700: Vredeman de Vries, Volume XLVII, Part I, 1555–1571* (Rotterdam: 1997) nos. 223–239. Forssman dates the *Caryatidum* to around 1560. Fuhring and Petra Sophia Zimmerman concur with Hans Mielke that the series may have first been published around the time Vredeman released *DEN EERSTEN BOECK, GHEMAECT OPDE TVVEE COLOMNEN DORICA EN IONICA* and *DAS ANDER BVECH, GEMACHT AVFF DIE ZWAY COLONNEN CORINTHIA VND COMPOSITA* in 1565. See Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 142; Mielke H., *Hans Vredeman de Vries. Verzeichnis der Stichwercke und Beschreibung seines Stils sowie Beiträge zum Werk Gerard Groenings*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin: 1967) 87; Fuhring, *Vredeman de Vries* 203; Zimmermann P. S., *Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vries. Entwicklung der Renaissancearchitektur in Mitteleuropa* (Munich – Berlin: 2002) 142.
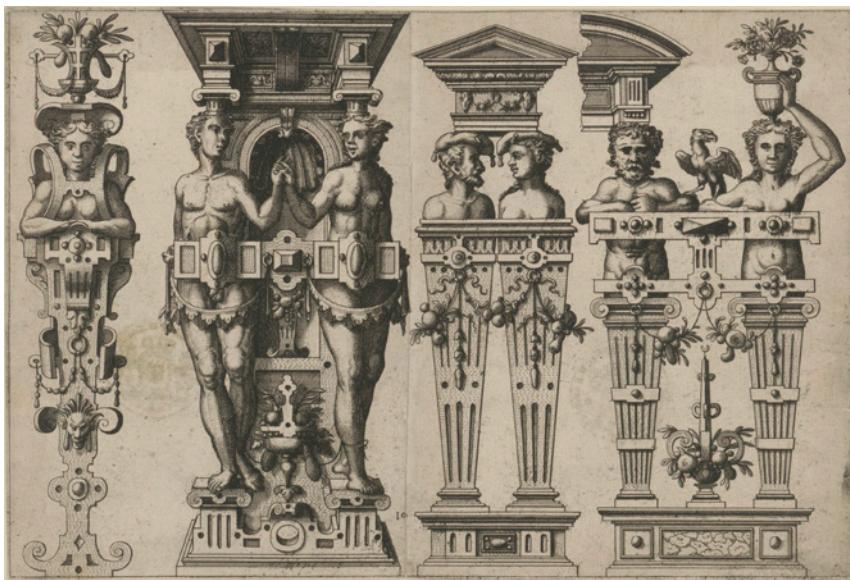
FIGURE 13.2   *Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Hans Vredeman de Vries, herms, terms,*
and canephore, etching, CARYATIDVM (VVLGVS TERMAS VOCAT) [...]
(Antwerp: Gerard de Jode, c. 1565) Pl. 10. Munich, Staatliche Graphische
Sammlung München, Inv.-Nr. 60678 D.

terms and herms had gone virtually unmentioned in that literature.[11] It was
the *Caryatidum*'s subtitle, for instance, that first dubbed the figures 'Termen'
in Dutch.[12] Today terms are defined as figures comprised of a bust and torso
atop a quadrangular form, scaled to the height of the human body and tapered
downwards, sometimes ending in feet. They are now considered distinct from
herms, which lack a torso and arms.[13] Vredeman and his followers nevertheless

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11   Treatises by Leon Battista Alberti and Sebastiano Serlio both refer obliquely to the
      motif. Serlio also pictures it, among other places, in the title page of his 1537 treatise.
      See Alberti L. B. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. J. Rykwert – N. Leach – R.
      Tavernor (Cambridge, MA – London: 1988) 126; Serlio Sebastiano, *REGOLE GENERALI DI
      ARCHITETVRA SOPRA LE CINQVE MANIERE DE GLIEDIFICI, CIOE, THOSCANO, DORICO,
      IONICO, CORINTHIO, ET COMPOSITO, CON GLIESSEMPI DELL'ANTIQVITA, CHE, PER LA
      MAGIOR PARTE CONCORDANO CON LA DOTTRINA DI VITRVVIO.* (Venice, Francesco
      Marcolini: 1537) Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (SAX)
      NA2510 .S51q, title page, fols. XXXVIᵛ, XLVIᵛ.
12   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 141.
13   Curl J. S., *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, Second Edition
      (Oxford: 2006) under 'term, terminal' and 'herm, hermes.'

treat both as forms of '*Termen.*' Prints like the tenth plate of the *Caryatidum* indeed show the variety of forms *Termen* could assume.

Period sources also sometimes conflated *Termen* with caryatids and other anthropomorphic posts that do not diminish toward the base, as Vredeman did in the full title of the *Caryatidum*. Yet while caryatids were used in construction as weight-bearing elements, the herms and terms called *Termen* were not always regarded as an essentially architectural motif. They had origins in Greek antiquity as freestanding sculptures with the head of Hermes, and appeared during the Roman period in grotesque wall paintings and as statues of the boundary god Terminus.[14] After the mid-1530s, ornament prints were instrumental to the proliferation of the motif in all media.[15] Vredeman, for instance, bragged that his printed *Termen* were useful models for sculptors, stonemasons, woodworkers, glass-painters, and all manner of artful craftsmen.[16] In associating *Termen* with caryatids and representing them in weight-bearing roles, he nevertheless highlighted their relevance to architects. By giving this motif a place in the architectural lexicon, Vredeman expanded the canon of forms architects used to convey meaning.

In Vitruvius's day and in the Renaissance, conveying meaning effectively was a vital concern for the architect. 'In all things', Vitruvius wrote, 'but especially in architecture, there are two inherent categories: the signified and the signifier. The signified is the proposed subject of discussion; it is signified by a reasoned demonstration carried out according to established principles of knowledge.'[17] In describing the role of historical knowledge in understanding architectural signification, Vitruvius used an anecdote about caryatids to show what a reasoned demonstration of the links between built form and represented content might entail. Caryatids, he explained, derived from the Greek practice of substituting columns with images of the conquered women of Caryae, so that '[…] the notorious punishment of the Caryate women would be recalled to future generations.'[18] The eloquent architect appreciated that

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14   Irmscher G., *Kölner Architektur- und Säulenbücher um 1600*, Sigurd Greven-Studien 2 (Bonn: 1999) 81.

15   Ibid. 82.

16   Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum* title page: '[…] tot behoef alle Beelt ende Steenhouwers Scrinwerkers Glaesscriuers ende alle Constelicke handtwerkers […]'.

17   As translated in Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. I. D. Rowland – T. Noble Howe – M. J. Dewar – trans. I. D. Rowland (Cambridge: 1999) 22. (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, I.1.3: 'Cum in omnibus enim rebus, tum maxime etiam in architectura haec duo insunt: quod significatur et quod significat. significatur proposita res, de qua dicitur; hanc autem significat demonstratio rationibus doctrinarum explicata […]'.

18   Rowland, *Ten Books on Architecture* 22. (Vitruvius, *De architectura* I.1.5: '[…] ut etiam posteris nota poena peccati Caryatium memoriae traderetur'.)

the significance of architecture was grasped in relation to tradition, and conceived in terms of canonical forms.

Vitruvius's treatise was the only complete architecture text to survive from antiquity, and thus profoundly shaped how Vredeman and other Renaissance readers re-imagined Classical models for the work of the architect.[19] Many in sixteenth-century northern Europe owed their knowledge of *De architectura* to the German translation and commentary of Walther Hermann Ryff.[20] Ryff's commentary to his *Vitruvius Teutsch* of 1548 explains that, 'The building master is the maker of meaning [*bedeuter*]'.[21] He also suggests that because

> [...] we do not grasp meanings with universal capability—especially those that relate to the art of architecture—the architect must know [...] how to represent these things, not only with [...] comprehensible illustrations of the whole work with regular Figures and Models [...] but also through reason and intelligent explanations.[22]

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19   Günther H., "Der Architekt in der Renaissance", in Nerdinger W., et al., *Der Architekt. Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Berufsstandes* (Munich – London – New York: 2012) 81.

20   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament*, 61–62.

21   Ryff W. H., *Vitruuius Teutsch. Nemlichen des aller namhafftigisten vñ hocherfarnesten, Römischen Architecti, vnd Kunstreichen Werck oder Bawmeisters, Marci Vitruuij Pollionis, Zehen Bücher von der Architectur vnd künstlichem Bawen. Ein Schlüssel und einleytung aller Mathematischē uñ Mechanischen künst, Scharpffsinniger fleissiger nachtrachtung oder speculation künstlicher werck, Aus solchem hohen verstand, rechtem grund, sattem und gewissem fundament aller löblichen künst, Der massen fleissig uñ ordentlich in Schrifften verfasset, das hierin ein yeder Kunstbegiriger leser der Architectur und kunstlichen Bawwercks unterwisen wirt, und der Architectur angehörigen Mathematischen und Mechanischen künsten ein rechten verstandt, leichtlichen erlernen und fassen mag. Alles mit schönen künstlichen Figuren und Antiquiteten, und sonderlichen Commentarien zu mererem bericht und besserem verstand geziert und erkleret. [...]* (Nuremberg, Johannes Petreius: 1548) Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (SAX) NA310 .V86q fol. VIIᵛ: '[...] darumb ist der künstreich Bawmeister der bedeuter [...]'.

22   Ryff, *Vitruvius Teutsch* fol. VIIᵛ: '[...] aber das so ich yeßt furgenommen, das ding so bedeutet wirt, wiewol vil ding sich selber bedeuten, wie alles das so wir vor augen sehen, aber solcher bedeutung sindt wir nit alle gleich vehig, und sonderlichen deren ding so die kunst der Architectur betreffen. Darumb dem Architecto von nöten, das er aus sonderlichem verstandt und wol gegründeter sinnreichkeit wise solche ding furzubilden, nit allein im furreissen und malen, und augenscheinlichen furstellung mit furbildung der ganßen gestalt mit gleichformigen Figuren und musteren so man Model nent, sonder mit sinnreicher uñ verstendiger unterrichtung [...]'.

Ryff's architect was principally concerned with creating a coherent image. Yet since architecture was also a matter of combining effective visual and verbal communication, the medium resembled rhetoric.[23]

Theorists in sixteenth-century northern Europe avidly adapted the rhetoric of Classical building and contemporary architecture abroad to their own contexts.[24] Vredeman, for instance, stressed the importance of '[…] understanding how to accommodate the spirit of architecture to the country's nature and customs […]'.[25] Interest in anthropomorphic ornament was one symptom of the search for modes of representation in architecture resonant with contemporary mores.[26] Ryff recommends that caryatids like those used by the ancients '[…] might also be readily applied by the princes and lords of these times, especially in lovely fortified palaces and princely residences, in order to show their valiance and manliness.'[27] His *Vitruvius Teutsch* pictures many such 'caryatid columns.' One woodcut, attributed to Virgil Solis, also depicts terms and a draped herm [Fig. 13.3].[28] Ryff alludes to these unnamed

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23   The resemblance of architecture to language in general and to rhetoric in particular are major, but contested, themes in the literature on early modern architecture. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley summarize the debate in the introduction to an essay collection that demonstrates the variable historical validity of these analogies. See Clarke G. – Crossley P., "Introduction", in Clarke G. – Crossley P., (eds.), *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000–c. 1650* (Cambridge: 2000) 1–20.

24   See Jonge K. de, "Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio: Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries, 1530–1620", in Hart V. – Hicks P. (eds.), *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise* (New Haven – London: 1998) 281–296.

25   Vredeman de Vries H., *ARCHITECTVRA, Oder Bavvng der Antiquen auss dem Vitruuius, vvælches sein funff Columnen Orden, dar auss mann alle Landts gebreuch vonn Bavven zu accomodierē, dienstlich fur alle Bavvmaystern, Maurer, Stainmetzlen, Schreineren, Bildtshneidren, vnd alle Liebhabernn der Architecturen*, (Antwerp, Gerard de Jode: 1577) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/2 A.civ. 251. under 'DORICA': '[…] ir ingeniū der Architectur wissen zu accomodieren nach der gelegenthayt dess landts art vnd gebrauch […]'.

26   See Mallgrave H. F., "Dancing with Vitruvius: Corporeal Fantasies in Northern Classicism", in Dodds G. – Tavernor R. (eds.), *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2002) 126–137.

27   Ryff, *Vitruvius Teutsch*, fol. XIII[v]: 'Solche alte gewonheit solte auch billich von den Fürsten und Herren noch diser zeit gehalten werden, fürnemlichen in den schönen gewaltigen Palasten uñ Fürsten höfen, dar mit etwan irer grosser sig tapfferheit und manlichkeit anszuzeigen […]'.

28   Solis's design adapts terms pictured in fols. XVLI[r] and LXI[r] and the title page of Sebastiano Serlio's *Quarto libro*, and prints by Cornelis Bos. See Röttinger H., *Die Holzschnitte zur Architektur und zum Vitruvius Teutsch des Walther Rivius* (Strasbourg: 1914) 26, 43, Taf. IV.
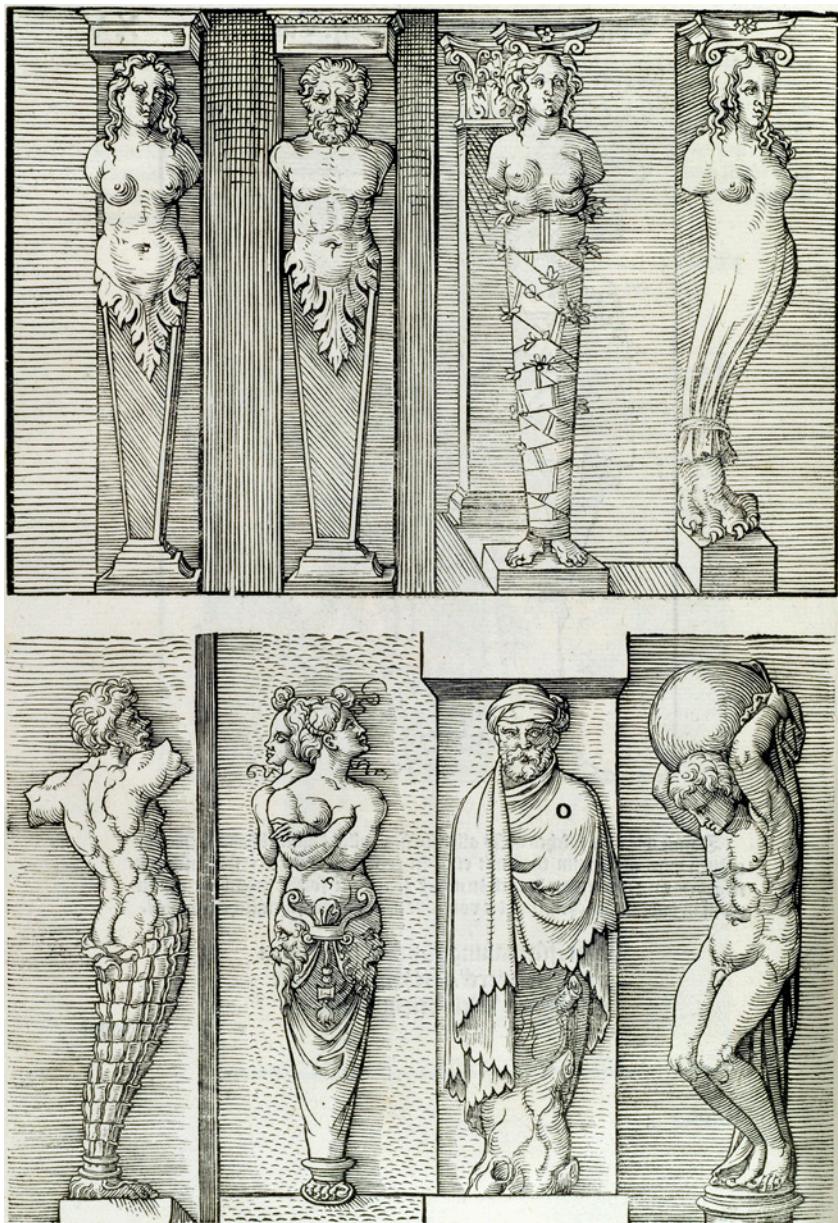
FIGURE 13.3   *Attributed to Virgil Solis, after Sebastiano Serlio and Cornelis Bos, terms,*
               woodcut illustration to Walther Hermann Ryff's Vitruvius Teutsch [...]
               (Nuremberg, Johannes Petreius: 1548) fol. XV ᵛ. Princeton, Marquand Library
               of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, (SAX) NA310 .V86q.

figures as a modern type of caryatid favored by architects abroad.[29] Vredeman's *Caryatidum* later localized the motif. By referring to '*termas*' as a baser alias for '*Caryatidum*', and specifying '*Termen*' as its Dutch equivalent, it portrays terms as virtually synonymous with a Classical architectural form, yet also represents them as elements of the modern architectural vernacular.

Renaissance architects in northern Europe employed caryatids and *Termen* in projects grand and modest, often in building types absent from Vitruvius's *De architectura*, but typical for their day. The façade of the 1571 Lemgo residence of merchant Hermann Kruwel, for instance, incorporates anthropomorphic supports in the guise of Adam and Eve, who are reminiscent of the couples in the tenth plate of Vredeman's *Caryatidum* [Fig. 13.4].[30] The couple flanks an inscription about the founding of the house, implicating Kruwel's dwelling in the universal order of God's creation.[31] Biblical symbolism played no role in Vitruvius's description of architectural ornament, but it was a ready means to address viewers in late-Renaissance Lemgo. The cross-armed term at the corner of the façade meanwhile features a base adorned with a column of thick strapwork cartouches, which were a characteristically 'modern' form pervasive in Vredeman's ornament prints.[32] The *Caryatidum*'s diverse models showed patrons like Kruwel, and indeed 'all those who love ornament belonging to the antique',[33] a living, vernacular mode of classicizing architectural rhetoric, adjustable to any project and the representational demands it might entail.

Analogy

Caryatids and *Termen* were emblematic of architecture's expressive power because they embodied one of the medium's most compelling analogies:

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29   Ryff *Vitruvius Teutsch* fol. XIII^v.

30   Henry-Russell Hitchcock tentatively attributes this so-called '*Hexenbürgermeisterhaus*' to Hermann Wulff. See Hitchcock H.-R., *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton, NJ: 1981) 180–181.

31   In German: 'IN GADES NAMEN VNDE CHRISTVS FREDE, HEFT / DVT HVES HERMAN KRVWEL BVET AN DISE STEDE AO 1571'. In English: 'In the name of God and the joy of Christ, Hermann Kruwel built this house on this site in the year 1571'.

32   Heuer, *The City Rehearsed* 111.

33   Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum* title page: '[…] *alle die de Antieckse Compertementsche Cieraet Beminnen*'.

FIGURE 13.4   *Attributed to Hermann Wulff, residence of Hermann Kruwel (so-called
                "Hexenbürgermeisterhaus") (1568–1571), Lemgo (North Rhine-Westphalia).
                Detail, street façade. Photo: Elizabeth J. Petcu.*

the relationship between the human body and the column.[34] This *topos*
was also integral to Vitruvius's theory of the Orders. In the first book of *De
architectura*, Vitruvius established the Orders as a system of modes variously
suited to certain projects, and described each manner's appearance by relat-
ing its parts in measured ratios. He also told how the Doric and Ionic Orders
respectively originated in the construction of temples devoted to Apollo and

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34   Rykwert, *The Dancing Column*, 138.

Diana, and how a basket overgrown with acanthus leaves atop the tomb of a young maiden inspired the forms of the Corinthian Order.[35] Proportions for the columns associated with each Order resembled the bodies of these dedicatees: the Doric man, the Ionic woman, and the Corinthian maiden.[36] Following this paradigm ensured that a monument's ornament and style communicated its purpose, manifesting an ideal correctness that Vitruvius called '*decor*.'[37]

In the sixteenth century, changing notions of decorum shaped how the ornaments associated with the Orders functioned as bearers of meaning.[38] Expanding on Vitruvius's text, Ryff's commentary to *De architectura* related the decorous application of the Orders to the intelligibility of a monument's image.[39] '*Decor*', he explains, '[…] is the attractive, noble aspect of a building. The ornament and appearance of a building is comprehended in terms of the three respective *exempla* [Orders] related and explained by Vitruvius.'[40] *De architectura*'s lack of surviving illustrations, as well as inconsistencies between the text and the remaining corpus of Classical architecture, nevertheless brought Renaissance readers to regard Vitruvius's account of the Orders as incomplete, and thus open to a degree of elaboration.[41]

Even before Ryff related decorum to the clarity of a design, evolving definitions of the canon of Orders had altered the terms of the Vitruvian system he described. In the initial volume of his *Sette libri dell'architettura*, the so-called *Quarto libro* of 1537, Sebastiano Serlio illustrated a quintet of Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite Orders schematized from the unruly vestiges of antique architecture and the contradictory accounts of its modern observers [Fig. 13.5]. His novel use of printed images and systematic depiction

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35   The theory of the Orders and the story of their origins is covered generally in Vitruvius, *De architectura* IV.1.1–12.

36   Onians J., *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: 1988) 34–35.

37   Payne, *The Architectural Treatise* 37.

38   See, for instance, Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* 271–286.

39   Fürst, "Die Kategorie der Bedeutung" 356. On the category of decorum in sixteenth-century German art literature, see Dethlefs H. J., "Wohlstand' and 'Decorum' in Sixteenth-Century German Art Theory", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007) 143–155.

40   Ryff, *Vitruvius Teutsch* fol. XXXI^r: '[…] Decor, das ist das schön herlich ansehen solches baws, Solche zier und schein des baws ist in drey fürnemen stucken begriffen, wie solche vom Vitruvio erzelet uñ genugsamlichen erkleret werden […]'.

41   For an account of this phenomenon, see Pauwels Y., *Aux marges de la règle: Essai sur les ordes d'architecture à la Renaissance* (Wavre: 2008).
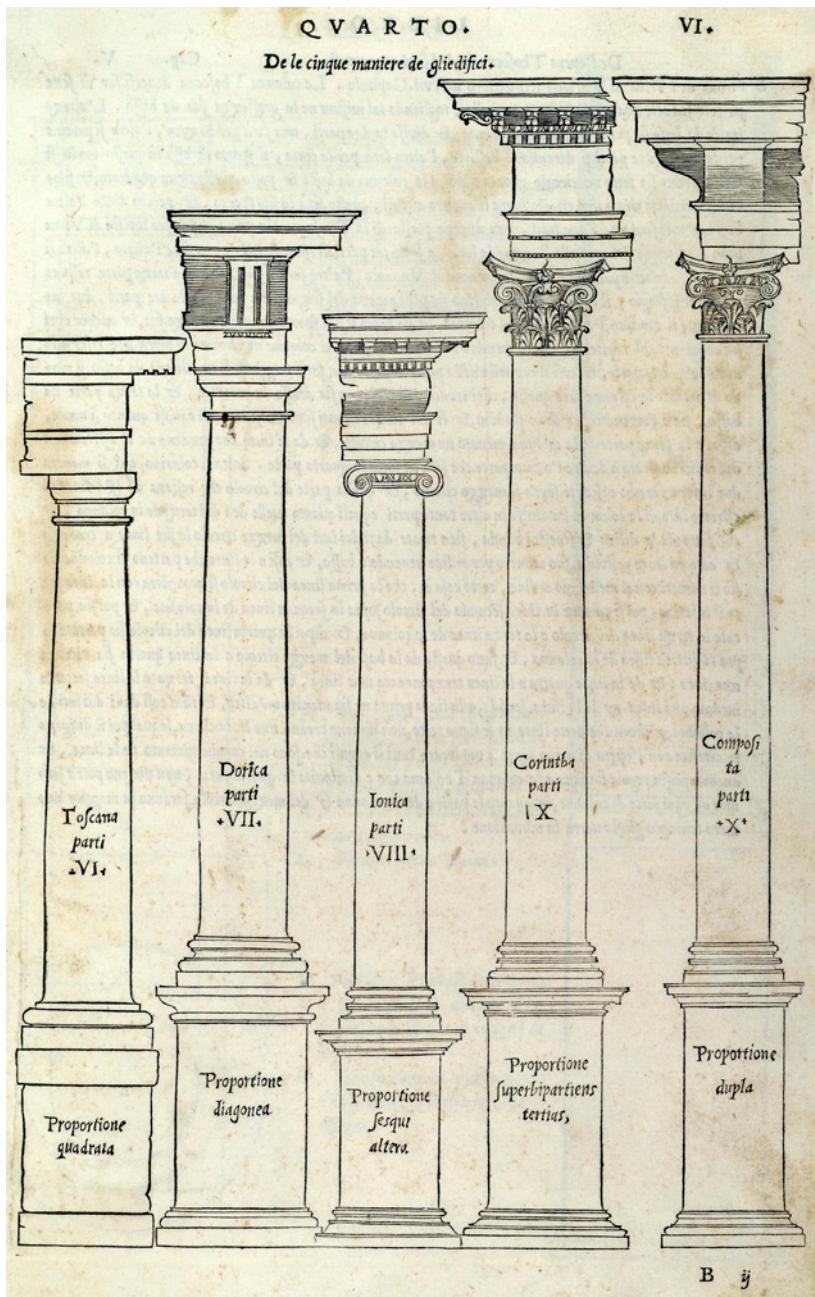
FIGURE 13.5   *Sebastiano Serlio, synoptic table of the Orders, woodcut illustration to*
Serlio's REGOLE GENERALI DI ARCHITETVRA [...] (*Venice, Francesco*
Marcolini: 1537) *fol. VI*ʳ. *Princeton, Marquand Library of Art and*
Archaeology, Princeton University, (SAX) *NA2510 .S51q.*

of the Orders as manners of building recognizable by their proportions and ornaments helped define the norms of decorum of which Ryff wrote.[42] Serlio also described how these modes were individually appropriate to particular projects and patrons, connecting the Orders' metaphorical characters to their purposes. This idea later guided how readers in northern Europe applied anthropomorphic forms of the Orders to specific architectural programs.[43] Pieter Coecke van Aelst's 1539 Flemish edition of the *Quarto libro*, as well as his German and French editions of 1542, proliferated Serlio's ideas north of the Alps, and inspired numerous northern authors to engage with his scheme.[44] Many did so by developing a fuller anthropomorphic iconography for Serlio's five manners.

When Hans Blum's *Von den fünff Sülen* appeared in 1550, its influential instructions for drafting the Orders first distilled northern Europe's image of these modes as a quintet of *columns*.[45] Rendered decorously, these columns physically resembled certain human types, and embodied those characters' abstract qualities. Blum specified that the Tuscan column was hefty like the giant Tuscano for whom it was named, and should be compared with a large farmer. The Doric column resembled a strong hero, the Ionic a brave woman, and the Corinthian a lovely virgin.[46] He also described how the Orders' canonical proportions and ornaments approximated the effect of figuration, and used printed images to visualize the analogy between each Order and its metaphorical character [Fig. 13.6]. The Ionic capital recalled the head of its brave female model with a '[…] spiral, wrought through a snail-formed line, so that [her]

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42   See Carpo M., *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. S. Benson (Cambridge, MA – London: 2001) 49–54. It has also recently been suggested that single-sheet architectural prints nevertheless sustained interest in forms outside of Serlio's canon as valid models for architectural invention long after the publication of his first book in 1537. The publications considered in this chapter show the persistence of that phenomenon, and demonstrate that in northern Europe, it was never limited to single-sheet prints. See Waters M. J., "A Renaissance without Order: Ornament, Single-sheet Engravings, and the Mutability of Architectural Prints" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, 4; Special Issue on Architectural Representations 2 (2012) 490.

43   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 69.

44   De Jonge, "Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries" 286. See also Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing*, 98–102.

45   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 76.

46   Irmscher, *Kölner Architektur- und Säulenbücher* 36.

III.
Ionica I.

Die dritte Colum wirt gezogen auff den weiblichen cörper einer dapfferen frauwen/ wie daß in der Vorred gemäldet ist. Ir gantze höhe sol in siben teil geteilt werdē. Der selben siben teil eins/ in 22. teil geteilt/ verzeichnet mit a/ ist die gantze breite der base vnden. Demnach laß auff einer yeden seyten zwen teil sion zur dicke des füßgesimps : die übrigen 16. teil zū der dicke des schaffts.

Die höhe des schaffts/ oder Columnen/ sol also gemachet werden. Nuß die übrigen 16. teil/ vñ nach ein teil darnũß der selben teil acht sol der schafft hoch sein/ mit sampt dem füßgesimps vnd capitäl.

Das füßgesimps sol von halber dicke des schaffts breite sein geteilt in drey teil/ da gibt ein teil die base oder blätlen/ die übrigen zwen teil/ geteilt in siben teil/ gehörend drey teil zum oberen stab : die anderen 4. teil/ so über sind blüben an den siben teilen/ geteilt in acht teil/ sind zwen teil die zwen stäblin in der mitte/ vnd allwäg ein halber teil ein blätlle.

Das blätlle auff dem ober stab des füßgesimps/ wirt also gemacht. Teil die breite des schaffts in 12. teil/ da ist ein teil die verkleinerung des schaffts auff yeder seyten/ vnnd ein halber teil die breite des blätlens/ vnnd sol ein halben teil für den schaffte außgaen.

Die außladungen der anderen glider söllend außgeladen werden wie in dem grund des gesimps/ in der figur hie vnden verzeichnet ist.

Oben zū end des schaffts/ sol das capitäl oder schnöckel gesetzt werden/ welches teilung also gemacht wirt. Teil den schaffte vnden in 18. teil an der breite. Setz die selben 18. teil oben auff den schaffte/ vnnd sey auff einer yeden seyten ein halben tnzū. Das blätlle darauß die 18. teil stend/ sol ein halbe teil breit sein. Zū dem karnieß mūß auch ein teil breite/ daß sein gantze höhe mit dem blätlle anderthalb teil breit sey.

Darnach teil dā bleerly des 18. teils 9. teil/ hāraūj/ein teil zum karnieß/ zwen zur täl in dem schnöckel/ zwen teil zum stab mit den halbaugen/ vnnd eins zum kleinen stäblin mit den kösnern/ die übrigen drey teil gehörend zū dem halben circkel/ vnden an den schnöckel.

Vnder dem schnöckel söllend noch vier teil genossen werden zū dem frieß. Zū end des schaffts ob/ sol das gürtle oder listle gemacht werden/ daß sein höhe ein zwölfften teil von der breite des schaffts sey geteilt in drey teil/ eins zum blätlin/ vnd zwen zum stäble/sein außladung sey so vil als sein höhe.

Die schnöckel oder schnöcklinien sol gezogen vnd abgeteilt werden wie in der figur des grossen schnöckels der Ionica genügsam wirt angezeigt.

Demnach sol der schafft also gebücht oder verkleinert werden. Daß sein gantze höhe zwüschend dem füßgesimps vnd capitäl/ in sechs teil geteilt werd. Vnnd sollend vnden zwey der selben sechs teil sion bleiben. Darnach reiß ein lungen auff yeder seyten in dem außseren zwölfften teil / von vnden an biß oben hinauß. Wenn die lunen also überzwerch vnnd in die höhe gezogen sind / so miß ein circkel zeich ein halben circkel riß : vff den zwölten teile die vndē ston sind blübē von einem ort biß hinüber zū dem anderen ort.
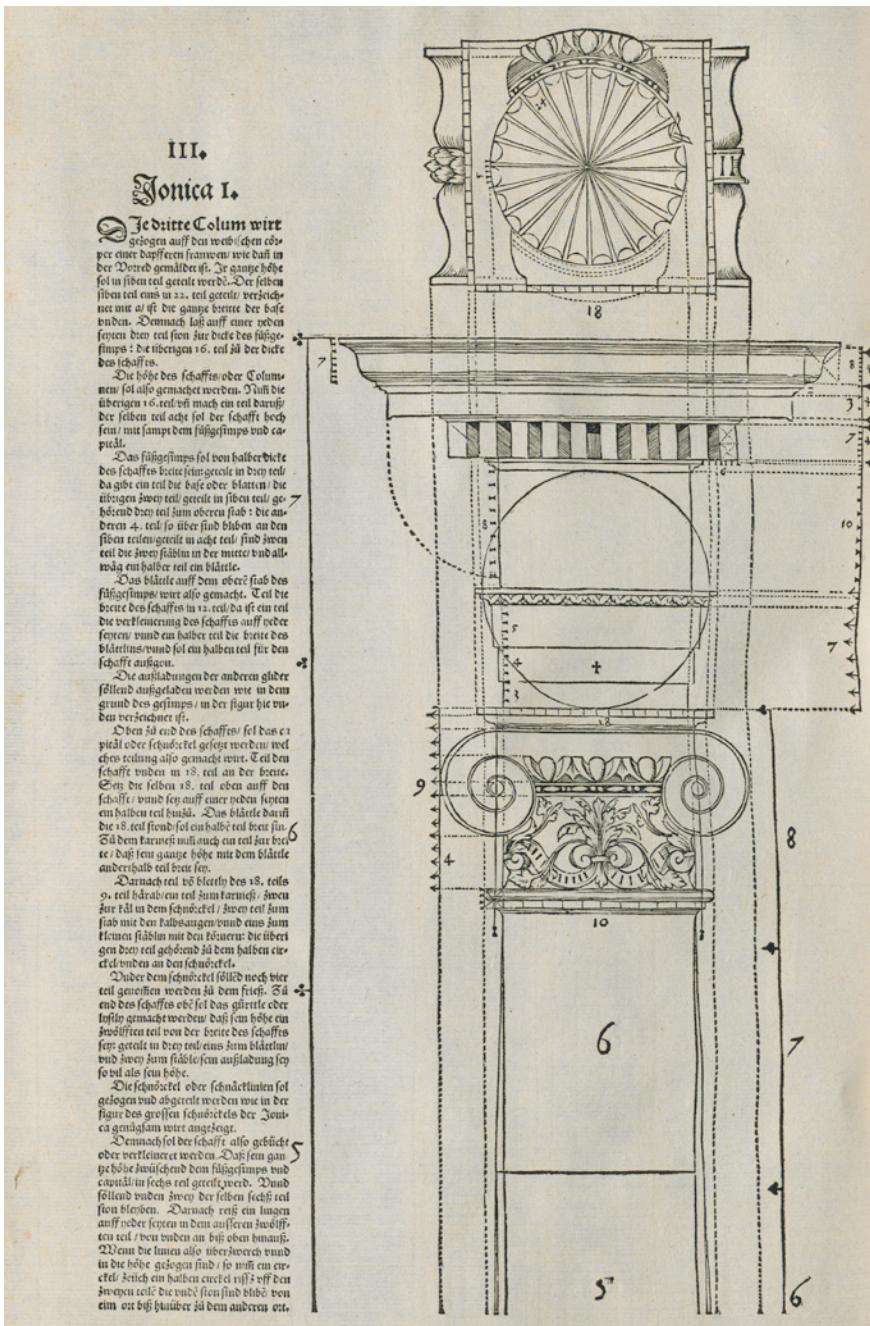

FIGURE 13.6 *Hans Blum, "Ionica I.", woodcut illustration to Blum's* Von den fünff Sülen [...] *(Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1550) under 'Ionica I'. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 A.civ. 24.*

bound-up plait or tresses are represented on the right and left sides.'[47] The 1:7 ratio between the width of the column base and the total height from the base to the top of the entablature that Blum specified for the variant of the Ionic column lacking a pedestal also reflected her slender, yet sturdy figure. For readers who regarded the Orders as the basis for architectural signification, Blum made reference to the human form the northern architect's primary tool for conveying meaning.

Blum's treatise represented abstract, ideal forms, and thus provided few models for conveying meaning in specific designs. By figuring 'various diverse Terms of the five Orders of Buildings'[48] just over a decade later, Vredeman's *Caryatidum* gave these modes a more vivid image. It also represented the Orders as a quintet of themes from which a diverse array of architectural inventions might spring. Viewers familiar with Blum's symbolic identities for the Orders could discern that many sheets depicted sets of Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite *Termen* and a basket-bearing canephore from right to left [Fig. 13.7].[49] For instance, the armored woman with a plumed helmet in the fourteenth plate bears the attributes of Athena, and reflects the Ionic character because she conforms to the commonplace that the Order is like a brave woman. These forms, like the Orders they represented, were each appropriate to different contexts. While the adjacent Corinthian herm sporting a crown and playful grotesque masks might aptly decorate a portal for an amusing princely grotto, the staid, Ionic Athena would make little sense there. Vredeman's figures also suggested how viewers might invent multiple variations on Blum's personified Orders. Since the Ionic mode was associated with the maiden huntress Diana, virginal Athena was a fitting, alternative way to figure her Order. Both resonated with the Ionic Order's dignified profile, but

47   Blum H., *Von den fünff Sülen, Grundtlicher bericht vnnd deren eigentliche contrafeyung, nach Symmetrischer vßteilung der Architectur. Durch den erfarnen, unnd der fünff Sülen wolberichten, M. Hans Blümen von Lor am Mayn, flyssig uß den antiquiteten gezogen, und trüwlich, als vor nie beschehen, inn Truck abgefertiget. Allen kunstrychen Buwherren, Werckmeisteren, Steinmetzen, Maleren, Bildhouweren, Goldschmiden, Schreyneren, ouch allen die sich des circkels uñ richtschyts gebruchend, zü grossem nutz und vorteil dienstlich* (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1550) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/2 A.civ. 24 under 'Dem frommen, Erenuestē, fürsichtigen und wysen, Juncker Andresen Schmid […]': '[…] und am Capitæl wirbel oder voluten, oder Schnörckel, durch die Schneckenlinien gezogen gefeßt, damit die ufgebunden zöpff oder harflæchten anzüzeigen, auff der rechten und lincken syten'.

48   Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum* title page: '[…] Veelderleÿ dieuerse Termen op de V ordene der Edificien […]'.

49   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 142–143.

their respective characters suited different kinds of architecture. While Diana
might aptly decorate a hunting lodge, Athena embodied the protective forti-
tude appropriate to a city armory, or perhaps the residence of a lord respon-
sible for justly defending his subjects. The very attributes Vredeman's *Termen*
used to variously reflect their Order's nature made them suitable for an array
of different architectural contexts and representational roles.

Architects eagerly adapted models from the *Caryatidum* to their own inven-
tions. Left of Vredeman's Corinthian herm stands a bearded man conjoined
with a coiffed woman, a body in keeping with the Composite Order's repu-
tation as a manner that fuses distinct forms. This figure recalls the ancient
Hermathena statues from which Renaissance *Termen* partly derived, and whose
combination of eloquent Hermes and wise Athena Cicero once described as
an appropriate ornament for his academy.[50] Architect Paul Francke employed

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50   See Cicero, *Letters to Atticus Vol. I, 1–89,* ed.–trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge
      MA – London: 1999) I.4.(IX).

FIGURE 13.8   *Paul Francke, Schola Julia (1577–1578). Helmstedt (Lower Saxony). Detail, east façade. Photo: Elizabeth J. Petcu.*

the male portion of Vredeman's distinctive, pillow-topped form in a portal he realized in Helmstedt between 1577 and 1578 for the Schola Julia of Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, for whom Vredeman also later worked [Fig. 13.8].[51] Without female counterparts, Francke's *Termen* still indicated the institution's Hermes-like dedication to artful speech, but also invited different associations—perhaps, for instance, alluding to the deeper mysteries of Hermetic knowledge. By inventing a class of architectural ornament that could visualize the abstract qualities of the Orders through a potentially unlimited variety of anthropomorphic forms, Vredeman created a nuanced, adjustable mode of architectural rhetoric, relevant to all manner of modern projects.

The *Caryatidum*'s picture of anthropomorphized Orders was not without faults. It contained no models for incorporating the *Termen* within full projects. More problematically, Vredeman's figures did not display their Orders' canonical proportions. Only audiences capable of recognizing the Orders in

51   On the Schola Julia, see Hitchcock, *German Renaissance Architecture* 255–257. On Vredeman's service for Julius, see Heuer, *The City Rehearsed* 141–148.

terms of iconography alone could fully appreciate their rhetoric.[52] Because
the *Caryatidum*'s irregular forms also did not readily coordinate with the pro-
portional framework of an Order, they were liable to detract from the visual
coherence of the monuments they decorated. Concern for these issues shaped
how Vredeman later revised his picture of *Termen* in the 1577 *Architectura,
Oder Bauung der Antiquen* [Fig. 13.9]. Explaining the presence of three figures
floating among the Composite columns in the final plate of this systematic
overview of the Orders, he writes,

> I have also incidentally placed a trio of Terms called or termed *Phillernen*,
> to be used in the Composite Order in stone, as well as in wood[.] And so
> that they be a benefit and ornament for a vice-less (*unlastbaren*) work,
> and each occur as they should in the Order […] one should advise one-
> self with the writings and teachings of Vitruvius, and other masters, who
> have well declared and placed in order all [their] general and particular
> measurements […].[53]

Subject to the conventional proportions of an Order, these *Phillernen Termen*
are suited to complementing an architectural framework. The moral dimension
Vredeman attaches to this quality underscores the idea that decorum itself
is part of a monument's rhetoric, and the values it conveys. By enhancing a
monument's appearance, decorously proportioned *Termen* also reinforce the
messages it projects.

   Although neither Vredeman nor any prior author actually specified pro-
portions for *Termen*, the Composite figures pictured in the *Architectura, Oder
Bauung der Antiquen* implicitly conformed to the standards Vitruvius and

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52   Zimmermann sees this phenomenon as evidence that the *Caryatidum*'s terms are not
      arranged in a regular pattern according to the Orders. Vredeman's consistent, if obscure,
      use of iconography to indicate each term's Order nevertheless confirms Forssman's
      hypothesis that the plates featuring six figures establish such an order. See Zimmermann,
      *Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vrie*s 142; and Forssman, *Säule und Ornament*
      142–143.

53   Vredeman de Vries, *ARCHITECTVRA* under 'COMPOSITA': 'Wytter so hab ich auch noch
      hie bey neben gestelt dreyerley Term khocher oder getermde Phillernen, Composita,
      vmb zu gebrauchen in stain, so woll alss in holtz, vnd das zur ainner nutz vnd khunst vmb
      ain vnlastbaren werckh, also ain ieder an der Ordinantz sicht vnd befunden soll, ethwass
      meer von der Composita, vnd alle die andere fier oorden zusaggen, ist (oder zubewissen),
      soll sich ain ieder dess verstandts beratten, mitt der schrifft vnd lernung Vitruuij, vnd
      meer ander maister, die alle die genneralle vnd particulier mass von allem zu allem, alles
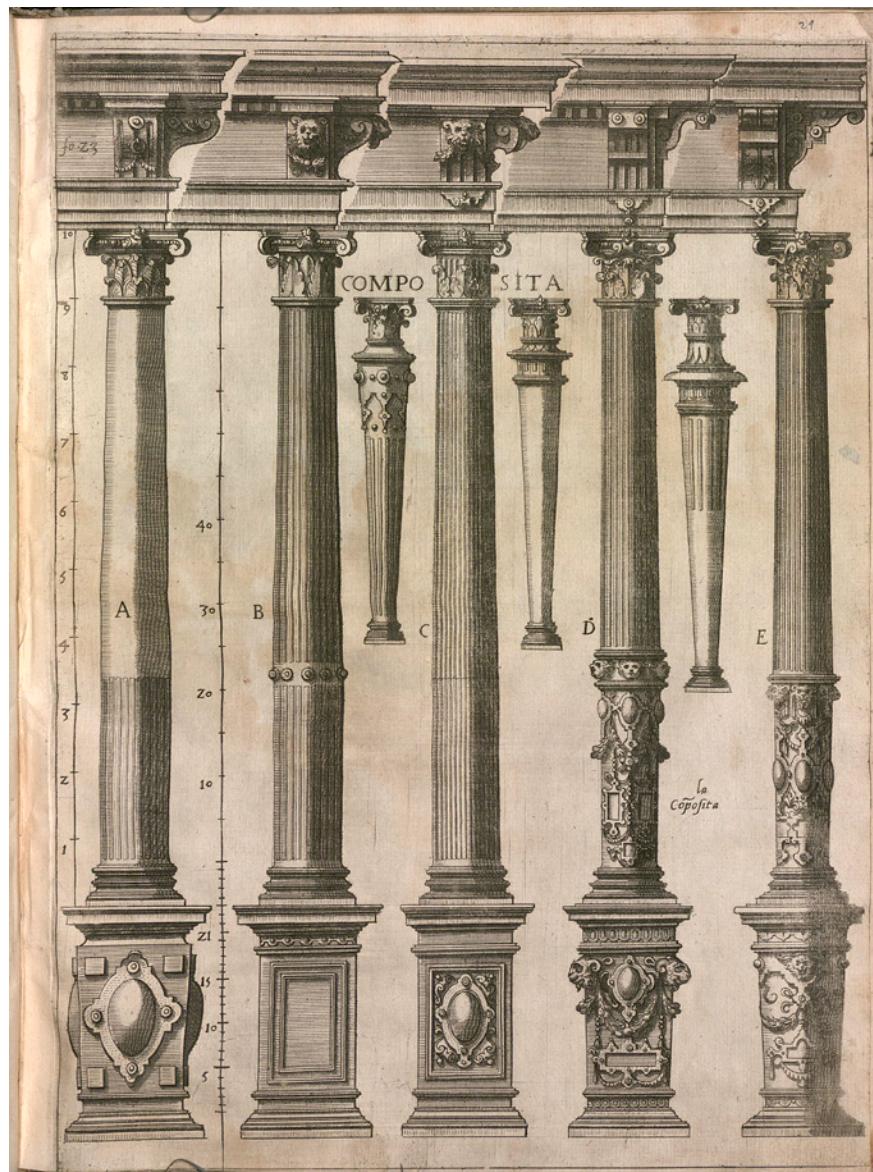   woll gedeclarriert vnd in die oorden gestelt haben […]'.

FIGURE 13.9   *Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Hans Vredeman de Vries, "COMPOSITA",*
etched illustration to Vredeman's ARCHITECTVRA, Oder Bavvng der Antiquen
auss dem Vitruuius [. . .] (*Antwerp, Gerard de Jode: 1577*) *fol. 23. Munich,*
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 A.civ. 251.

subsequent theorists stipulated for that Order. But in contrast to the *Caryatidum*'s anthropomorphic *Termen*, the *Phillernen* forms were abstract in appearance.[54] Their bodies were thus no better suited to embodying the specific message of an architectural program than the forms of Blum's ideal columns.[55] The anthropomorphic *Termen* pictured elsewhere in the treatise bore no outstanding attributes and were identical to the others in their Order.[56] Vredeman never realized a model for *Termen* who possessed the formal traits necessary to complement a lucid architectural program as well as the symbolic qualities critical to targeted architectural rhetoric. A guide to devising anthropomorphic forms of the Orders that combined these formal and symbolic qualities emerged only decades later, when a confluence of forces reignited interest in Vredeman's idea at the Prague court of Emperor Rudolf II.

Subtlety

Vredeman entered Rudolf's service in Prague around 1596. The Emperor fostered a keen interest in architecture, commissioning many interiors and garden structures in Prague and at country residences for which the *Caryatidum*'s *Termen* would have been appropriate ornaments.[57] Vredeman satisfied these tastes by designing fountains for the residential gardens and collaborating with son, Paul, on painted architectural perspectives. Before leaving Prague around 1599, he may additionally have assisted Paul with decorations for Rudolf's new picture gallery.[58] Interior ornament also fell within the purview of master-woodworker Gabriel Krammer, who served Rudolf between 1587 and his death in 1606.[59] The treatise Krammer devised while working alongside Vredeman is indebted to his colleague's 1577 work, for it summarizes the Orders and

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54   On this development, see Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 149.

55   Zimmermann, *Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vries* 143.

56   Ibid.

57   The impact of these publications on Rudolfine architecture is difficult to gauge because many relevant projects are now altered beyond recognition. In Prague alone, these include two new chapels, as well as apartments, picture galleries, horse stalls, and a *Kunstkammer*. See Krčálová J., "Die rudolfinische Architektur", *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1, *Rudolf II and His Court* (1982) 271.

58   Zimmermann, *Die Architectura von Hans Vredeman de Vries* 48–50.

59   On the biography of Gabriel Krammer, see Cramer R., "Ein zürcher Bürger in Prag. Der 'Leibguardipfeiffer', Kunstschreiner und Kunsttheoretiker Gabriel Cramer", *Zürcher Chronik* 4 (1986) 143–145.

models projects that reflect contemporary northern tastes [Fig. 13.10].[60]
Krammer's self-portrait nevertheless suggests to readers that his *Architectura*
presents a 'more subtle' form of conveying meaning in architecture.[61]

Krammer began the *Architectura* no later than 1598, and presented it to
the Emperor in 1600.[62] The dedication relates how architecture preserves the
memory of ancient rulers like Alexander the Great, even in modern times.
It also praises Rudolf as a patron '[…] whom almighty God has blessed and
enlightened above all other Kings and Potentates of this era with sublime
gifts in architecture…'[63] The *Architectura*'s models for eloquent design were
conducive to facilitating conversation between the Emperor and architects as
they developed monuments that would likewise immortalize him.[64] No built
project, however, could proliferate Rudolf's image as a peerless architectural
patron more widely than Krammer's printed *Architectura*. Adapting Ryff's pic-
ture of caryatids as ideal ornaments for a residence that represented a ruler's
excellence, Krammer embellished his treatise for the Emperor with a more sys-
temized take on Vredeman's anthropomorphized Orders.

Krammer's *Architectura* was a useful *and* timely contribution to contempo-
rary architectural discourse, for it coincided with the appearance of a treatise
that revived Vredeman's experiments with anthropomorphizing the Orders.
Published serially since 1593, Strasbourg artist Wendel Dietterlin the Elder's

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60   Irmscher, *Kölner Architektur- und Säulenbücher* 137.

61   Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's study of notions of artistic eloquence at the court of Rudolf II
      identifies Hermathena as an emblem of this ideal. Such symbolism likely inflected how
      Krammer's terms were regarded as vehicles for architectural rhetoric. See Kaufmann T. D.
      "The Eloquent Artist: Towards an Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court
      of Rudolf II", *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1, *Rudolf II and His Court* (1982) 119–139.

62   The dedication of the *Architectura*'s earliest known edition is dated 20 March 1600, but its
      title page, also marked 1600, attests that this work is '[…] improved by Gabriel Krammer
      […] now in Prague'. (In German: '[…] Gebessert Durch Gabrielen Krammer Von
      Zürich […] Ietzo Zu prag'.) Its Tuscan and Doric Order etchings are generally marked
      1598, while its Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite Order etchings are dated 1599. Most
      pages bear Krammer's initials, and folios 12, 13, and 24 are inscribed with an imperial priv-
      ilege. Irmscher argued that an earlier edition was likely printed in Frankfurt, but these
      details suggest that the *Architectura* etchings first circulated as individual sheets while
      Krammer resided in Prague. On the publication history of Krammer's *Architectura*, see
      Irmscher, "Gabriel Krammer (1564–1606)" 234–244.

63   Krammer, *Architectura* 1: '[…] den der grosse Gott, vor allen andern dieser zeit Königen
      und Potentaten, hoch erleüchtet, und mit dieser vortrefflichen gab der Architectur, wie
      vor augen ligt, begnadigt hat […]'.

64   On the Emperor as an architectural patron, see Muchka I., "Rudolf II als Bauherr", in
      Fučíková E. et al., *Die Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II.* (Hanau – Prague: 1988) 178–207.

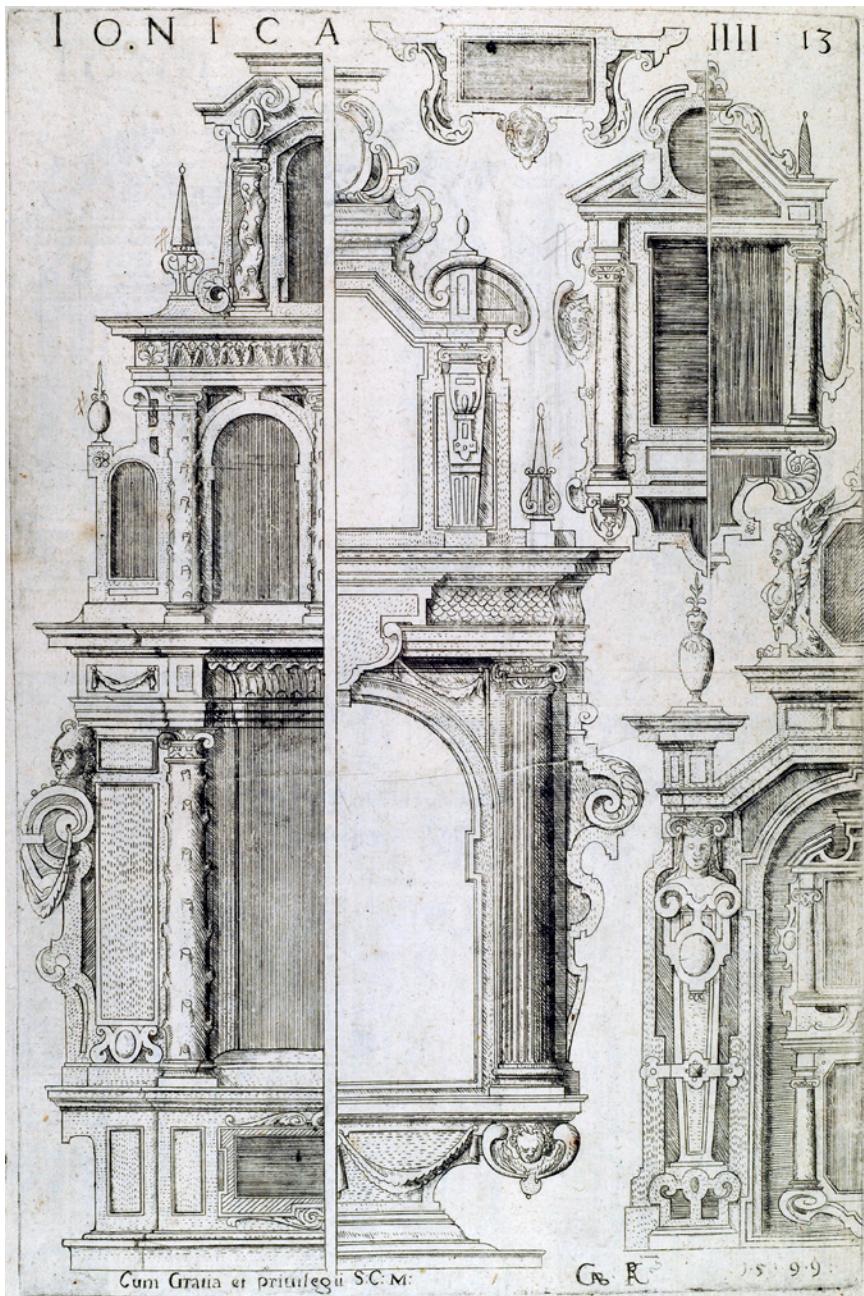FIGURE 13.10   *Gabriel Krammer, "IONICA IIII" (1599). Etched illustration to Krammer's*
ARCHITECTVRA VON DEN FVNF SEVLEN [. . .] (*Prague: 1600*) *23.*
Princeton, Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University,
(SAX) *NA2810 .K86q.*

finished *Architectura von Außtheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff Seulen*[65] of 1598 was comprised 198 etched plates, distributed across five Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite 'books' that represent the Orders as a quintet of multifaceted architectural personalities.[66] Its abundant designs for altarpieces, epitaphs, portals, fountains, and fireplaces reflect Vredeman's interest in the northern architectural vernacular. Each book commences with an etching that visualizes the links between its Order's proportions, anthropomorphic iconography, and ornament as elements informing the process of design [Fig. 13.11].[67] The Tuscan plate represents a sketched column marked with its proportions, a partially modeled column in its unadorned state, a herm embodying the Order's farmer-like nature, and an embellished column. The figures depicted in these leading plates establish the stylistic and thematic tone for the etched monuments that follow.

The variety of models depicted in Vredeman's *Caryatidum* had shown how *Termen* could collectively represent multiple facets of an Order's personality. Dietterlin's treatise highlights how anthropomorphic forms of the Orders could also individually convey many shades of meaning. His Tuscan herm allegorizes this semiotic flexibility. The figure recalls Blum's analogy between the Order and a simple farmer, but another reading is possible. Sporting a banded brow and decked with a grapevine and scythes, he also bears attributes of Vertumnus, the Etruscan deity mentioned in many Classical sources.[68] This

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65   Dietterlin W., *ARCHITECTVRA von Außtheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff Seulen, und aller darauß volgender Kunst Arbeit, von Fenstern, Caminen, Thürgerichten, Portalen, Bronnen und Epitaphien. Wie dieselbige auß jedweder Art der Fünff Seulen, grundt auffzureissen, zuzurichten, und ins Werck zubringen seyen, allen solcher Kunst Liebhabenden, zu einem bestendigen und ring ergreiffenden vnderricht, erfunden, in zweyhundert Stuck gebracht, Geeßt, und an tag gegeben* (Nuremberg, Hubertus and Balthasar Caymox: 1598) Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, (SAX) NA2835 .D572q. This is the final edition of the tract published in Dietterlin's lifetime. It encompasses multiple previous installments. The publication history of Dietterlin's *Architectura* is summarized in Großmann G. U., "Die verschiedenen Ausgaben der 'Architectura' des Wendel Dietterlin", *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1997) 157–173.

66   In this regard, it recalls Vredeman's 1577 *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* print series, which represented the Orders as five forms of the human condition. See Heuer, *The City Rehearsed* 127–129.

67   Skelton K., "Shaping the Book and the Building: Text and Image in Dietterlin's *Architectura*", *Word & Image* 23, 1 (2007) 34.

68   The story of Vertumnus is related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIV: 609–771) and *Fasti* (VI: 410), as well as Horace's *Satires* (II, 7:14). Propertius's *Elegiae* (IV.2), Horace's *Epistulae* (I, 20:1), and Cicero's *Orationes in verrem* (II, 1.154) refer to the Romans' idol to the god.
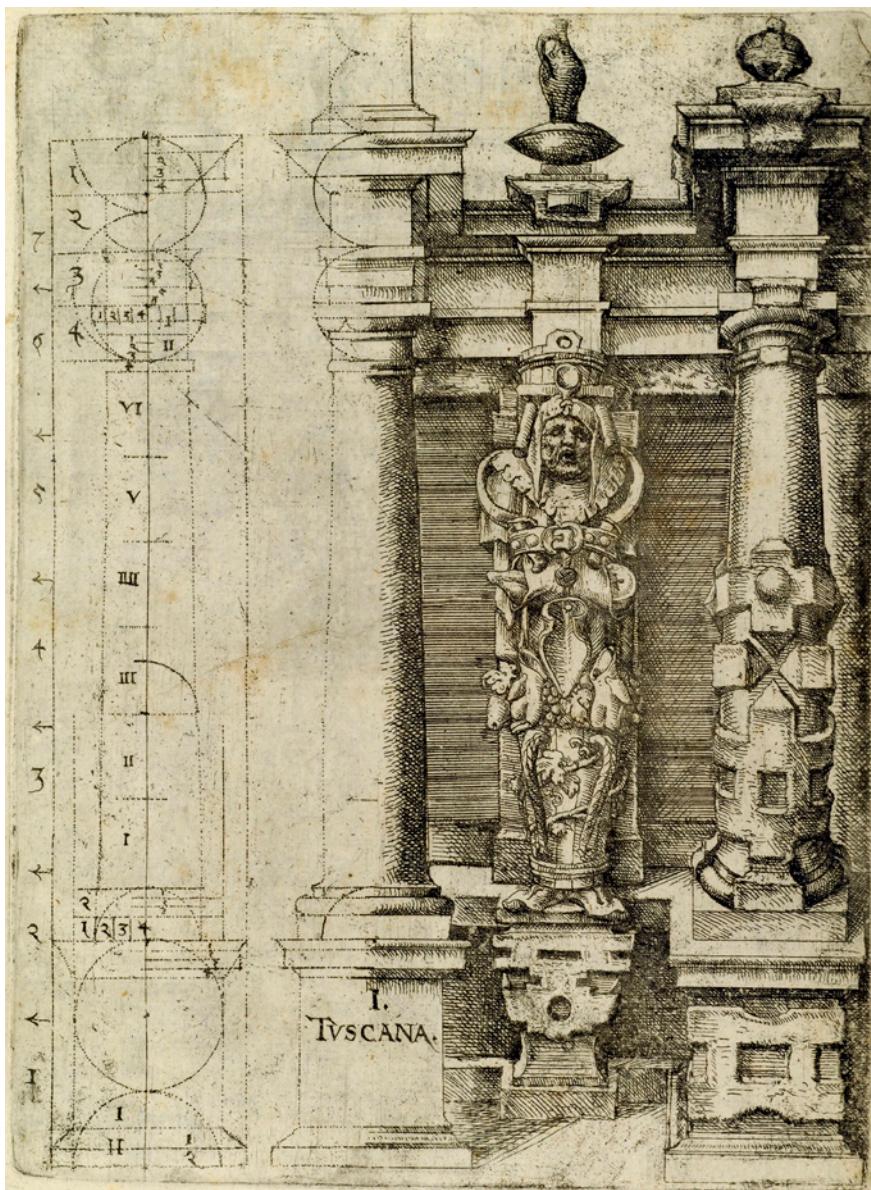
so-called 'Tuscan' god of metamorphosis was known for the ability to display many alternate identities while always retaining his essential nature.[69] He was thus an apt symbol for the way an Order's canonical personality might manifest variously in different anthropomorphic forms, each potentially encompassing multiple levels of meaning.

While the leading images of each book in Dietterlin's treatise all show figural supports alongside decorously proportioned columns, the author is silent on the subject of actually devising anthropomorphic forms of the Orders, and never mentions *Termen*. The greater part of the work instead *pictures* a world of monuments adorned with anthropomorphic figures who variously manifest their Orders' abstract qualities. This etched world portrays architecture and ornament as vehicles for narrative, allegories, and emblems.[70] Its figures also reflect the ideals of variety and polyvalent meaning embodied in Dietterlin's Vertumnus herm. One image in the Tuscan book again depicts the Order's iconic farmer, wandering through a doorway ornamented with Polyphemus and two fauns [Fig. 13.12]. Following the theme established in Dietterlin's visual summary of the Tuscan Order, they could also be perceived as Vertumnus in various disguises. Though each figure conforms to the character of the Tuscan Order by reflecting its robust and rustic nature, neither their bodies nor the portal's squat columns adhere to Tuscan proportions. Most etchings in the 1598 *Architectura* establish no measurable, concrete relationship between architectural figures and their built framework.[71] Like the figured Orders in Vredeman's *Caryatidum*, Dietterlin's anthropomorphic vision of the Orders is not chiefly aimed at helping viewers to devise lucid architectural programs. Both are more concerned with modeling evocative architectural ornament useful for all artists.

Krammer addressed this lacuna in the literature by illustrating a method for inventing anthropomorphic and abstract *Termen* that reflected of their Orders' canonical proportions [Fig. 13.1].[72] *Termen*, he argues, are proper substitutes

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Literary references to Vertumnus also abounded in the Renaissance, but are too numerous to list here.

69   Kaufmann T. D., "Arcimboldo and Propertius. A Classical Source for Rudolf II as Vertumnus" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, 1 (1985) 121.

70   Imscher G., " 'OrnamentSinnBild': Ornament*capricci* in Wendel I Dietterlins *Architectvra* (Stuttgart/Straßburg 1593/1594)", in Beyer V. – Spies C. (eds.), *Ornament. Motiv—Modus— Bild* (Munich: 2012) 118.

71   Forssman, *Säule und Ornament*, 162.

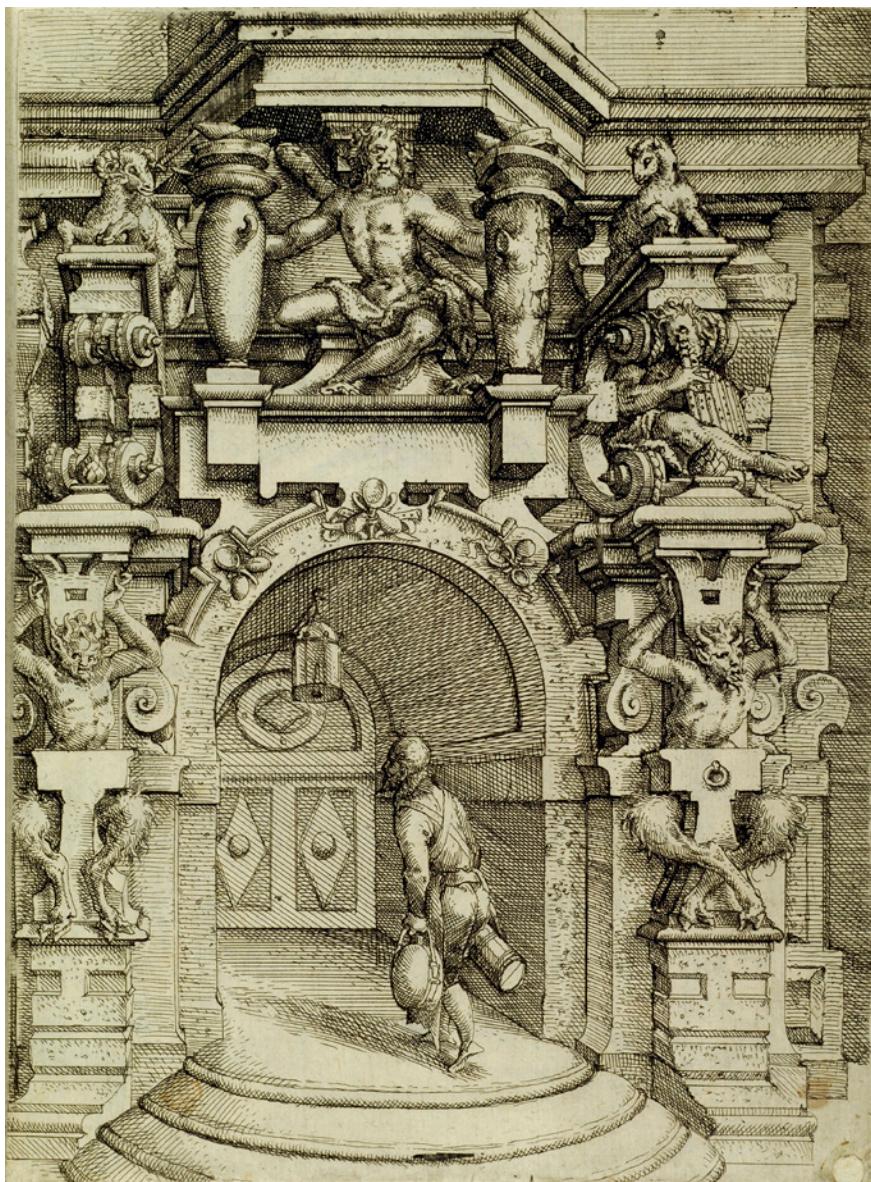72   These proportions are based on those given in Serlio and Blum. See Forssman, *Säule und Ornament* 153.

Wendel Dietterlin, Tuscan portal, etched illustration to Dietterlin's
ARCHITECTVRA von Außtheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der Fünff
Seulen [. . .] (*Nuremberg, Hubertus & Balthasar Caymox: 1598*) *Pl. 30.*
Princeton, Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University,
(*sax*) *NA2835 .D572q.*

for the columns.[73] He thus counsels readers interested in devising these figures to '[…] take assiduous care that the correct and due Order or proportion of the columns not be confused therein.'[74] The author describes the parts that comprise *Termen* and the proportional relationships between these components as they occur in every Order, and specifies ratios between each figure's total height and width reflective of their Order's column.[75] Krammer's etchings reinforce these instructions. For instance, he marks the Tuscan *Termen* with a six-part scale corresponding to the Order's 1:6 capital-to-post ratio. A four-part scale represents the 1:4 ratio between the width of the base and the height at which the term should reach its widest point.

Following his guidelines for devising decorously-proportioned *Termen*, Krammer advises readers, ensures that each figure '[…] respectively unites and compares with its own Order and Work.'[76] This was the ideal Vredeman mentioned, but never clarified, in his 1577 treatise. Krammer's etchings also illustrate this decorous synthesis of content and form. The fourth Ionic Order plate features an altarpiece with a herm bearing a volute-formed shield akin to the Order's iconic, spiraling ornament [Fig. 13.10]. Scaled to the rough, wooden column beside him, the warrior-like herm coordinates with the altarpiece by reflecting the 'brave' nature of his Order, as well as its proportions.

Architect and imperial servant Giovanni Maria Filippi incorporated Krammer's model for decorously proportioned *Termen* in one of Rudolfine Prague's few surviving cases of exterior anthropomorphic architectural ornament [Fig. 13.13]. For the facade of the town hall erected for Prague's Lesser Town between 1617 and 1619, Filippi scaled pairs of male and female herms featuring Ionic volutes to window-frames executed in that Order.[77] The duos reflect Krammer's unusual theory that the stereotypically feminine Ionic Order also harbors certain masculine qualities.[78] Since '[…] *Ionica* possesses

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73 Krammer, *Architectura* 5.

74 Krammer, *Architectura* 5: '[…] Jedoch, soll man fleissig achtung haben, daß die rechte und gebürliche ordnung, oder proporcion, der Seülen, hiedurch nicht zerstört werde […]'.

75 Ibidem 5–9.

76 Ibidem 5: 'Die Termen, so man an stat der Seüle oder columnen pflegt zu gebracuhen, Sollen nach jeder ordnung der Seülen, ire rechte proporcion und teilung haben, Damit sich ein jedes, zu seinem eigenen werck und ordnung verainigen, und vergleichen möchte […]'.

77 Krčálová, "Die rudolfinische Architektur" 298.

78 Krammer's theory may derive from Serlio's account of the Ionic Order's origins in temples dedicated to Diana, Apollo, and Bacchus. See Forssman E., *Dorisch, Ionisch, Korinthisch. Studien über den Gebrauch der Säulenordnungen in der Architektur des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm – Gothenburg – Uppsala: 1961) 77.

FIGURE 13.13   *Giovanni Maria Filippi, Town Hall (1617–1619). Lesser Town, Prague (Bohemia).*
Detail, west façade. Photo: Elizabeth J. Petcu.

a particular delicacy, yet is also strong […]', the author explains, 'the ancients […] compared this work to the Goddess Diana and the God Apollo.'[79] The delicacy and strength Filippi's figures embodied reflected the very mix of qualities that a civic body concerned with judicious and effective government would require its quarters to project. By furnishing readers with a way to join anthropomorphic forms of the Orders decorously to a monument's visual and representational framework, Krammer made the mode of architectural rhetoric introduced in Vredeman's *Caryatidum* useful for synthesizing eloquent architectural programs.

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79   Krammer, *Architectura* 7: 'Die dritte Seül Ionica, hat in sich ein sonderliche Zarte, doch starke, einer tapferen Frawn gleichsame manier und eigenschafft. Sintemal die Alten, diß werck, der Göttin Dianæ, auch dem Gott Appollini verglichen und dedicirt haben'.

Krammer's system of conventional proportions for *Termen* did not cancel the freedom of invention modeled in Vredeman's *Caryatidum*. Krammer assures readers that it is still '[…] permitted to everyone to ornament the *Termen* according to their own capability and pleasing knowledge.'[80] This system nevertheless enables Krammer's *Termen* to objectively manifest their Order, regardless of other visual characteristics. The means to concretely embody an Order in a form bearing little resemblance to the iconic personalities Blum had attributed to each mode expanded the spectrum of forms an Order might assume while remaining recognizable, and thus complementary, to a coherent architectural program. Krammer's proportional framework now allowed even male *Termen* belonging to a stereotypically female Order, such as the shield-bearing figure in his fourth Ionic plate, or the masculine Ionic terms in Filippi's façade, to represent their manner in a transparent fashion. Devising *Termen* who displayed personalities drastically different from the metaphorical character of their Orders could be the basis for a clever architectural conceit. The disparity between Krammer's ruff-wearing, hat-sporting Tuscan and the Order's normative image as a farmer is, for instance, the very quality that betrays the figure as a self-portrait. Rules, paradoxically, gave readers more freedom in inventing figures decorously tailored to the rhetoric of modern architectural projects.

Perhaps inspired by Dietterlin, Krammer adapted the Vertumnus theme to his self-portrait to allegorize the eloquence of his flexible mode of anthropomorphic architectural rhetoric [Fig. 13.1]. Expressive flexibility was regarded as the asset that made Vertumnus a master of deft expression and a symbol of artistic eloquence, even in antiquity.[81] Propertius represented the Romans' idol to the God as a speaking statue, who brags that the ability to adopt many guises convincingly attests to his persuasive prowess. 'My nature', he boasts, '… suits any role: turn me to which you please, and I shall fit it well. Clothe me in silks, and I will become a none too prudish girl: and who would deny that, wearing the toga, I am a man? Give me a scythe and bind my forehead with a wisp of hay: you will swear that my hand has cut grass.'[82] Propertius's elegy was also an important source for the painting of Rudolf as Vertumnus that Giuseppe

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80 Ibidem 5: 'Es ist woll zwar einem jeden erlaubt, die Termen noch müglichster Kunst, und zu wollgefelligem wissen zu zieren […]'.

81 Marquis E. C., "Vertumnus in Propertius 4, 2" *Hermes* 102, 3 (1974) 500.

82 Translation quoted from Propertius, *Elegies*, ed.–trans. G. P. Goold, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA – London: 1990; reprint ed., Cambridge, MA – London: 1999) 322–325. (Propertius, *Elegiae*, IV. 2, 20–26: '[…] opportune mea est cunctis natura figuris: / in quamcumque voles verte, decorus ero. / indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella: / meque virum sumpta

Arcimboldo conveyed to court around 1590, as well as the poem by Gregorio Comanini that likely arrived with it [Fig. 13.14].[83] The painter composed Rudolf's image from the flowers and fruits comprising one of Vertumnus's many costumes, reflecting the mercurial god's talent for embodying both multiplicity and unity.[84] In his poem, Comanini praises Arcimboldo's eloquent, multifaceted image for honoring Rudolf in a way words could not.[85] Krammer's self-portrait as a speaking term also emulates Propertius's speaking idol, and even mimes his boasting. By asserting that he 'cannot make himself more subtle', and that he is thus 'compared to crude things', Krammer alludes to the contrast between his model for rich, precise rhetoric and the less decorous vernacular of works like Vredeman's *Caryatidum*. In the contemporary architectural program, Krammer's *Termen*, like Propertius's Vertumnus, could fill any persuasive role.

Those who responded to this discourse did not universally adopt the standards for decorous, anthropomorphic architecture that Krammer ultimately introduced, for many were not principally interested in built monuments. Painter Daniel II. Meyer's 1609 *Architectura* resembles the works of Vredeman, Dietterlin, and Krammer in addressing '[…] painters, sculptors, stonemasons, woodworkers, and all lovers of art',[86] but differs in making no pretense to serve actual architects. One plate pictures Krammer's distinctive, mustached term likeness alongside a Vertumnus herm similar to Dietterlin's Tuscan, both composed from many objects, in the manner of Arcimboldo's portrait

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quis neget esse toga? / da falcem et torto frontem mihi comprime faeno: / iurabis nostra gramina secta manu […]'.)

83   See Kaufmann, "Arcimboldo and Propertius" 117–123. I am grateful to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann for suggesting this connection.

84   Maiorino G., *The Portrait of Eccentricity: Arcimboldo and the Mannerist Grotesque* (University Park, PA – London: 1991) 79.

85   In a portion of the poem quoted in Comanini's *Il Figino* of 1591, he writes, 'Worthy, oh worthy are you, of being praised with silence/ More than with tongues, by others; / For it is safer to admire sacred things in silence/ than to babble inadequacies./ Thus like a learned Egyptian, Arcimboldo covered/ Your royal face with a veil of lovely fruits, The most loyal, the best servant/ That consecrates his heart and work to your crown'. Quoted from Comanini G., *The Figino, or On the Purpose of Painting: Art Theory in the Late Renaissance*, trans. A. Doyle-Anderson – G. Maiorino (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1591; reprint, Toronto: 2001) 24–25.

86   Meyer D., *ARCHITECTVRA, Oder Verzeichnuß allerhand Eynfassungen an Thüren, Fenstern und Decken, u. sehr nützlich unnd dinlich allen Mahlern, Bilthawern, Steinmeßen, Schreinern, und andern Liebhabern dieser Kunst* (Frankfurt, Johann Theodor de Bry and Johann Israel de Bry: 1609) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/2 A.civ. 120.

FIGURE 13.14   *Giuseppe Arcimboldo*, Rudolf II as Vertumnus (*1590*). *Oil on panel, 68.0 × 56.0 cm. Skokloster, Skokloster Castle, Inv.-Nr. 11615. Photograph: Jens Mohr, Skokloster Castle.*

[Fig. 13.15]. Neither body, however, conforms to the proportions of an Order. Publishers Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry introduce this painter's model book of architectural ornament by clarifying that illustrating decorous designs was not Meyer's first priority. 'The author would like to apologize', they relate, 'that he has not created his figures from the foundation or proportions of the five columns as the departed Mr. Wendel [Dietterlin] did, but has

rather searched after inventions.'[87] Meyer's audience of figural artists was not
chiefly concerned with reconciling their designs to the protocols of architec-
tural decorum. His Arcimboldesque *Termen* addressed readers who were keen

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87   Meyer, *ARCHITECTVRA* fol. 3ᵛ: 'Der Auctor wil sich darin auch entschüldigt haben, daß
       sie die Figurn nicht allerdings auß dem Fundament, noch nach der Proporß der fünff
       Seulen gerichtet sindt, als wie weylandt Herrn Wendels seine: sondern es hat der Author
       fürnemblichen uff die *Inuentiones* gesehen'.

to draw ideas from anthropomorphic architecture but unencumbered by the terms of architectural decorum, and thus able to apply these models freely in their own inventions.

The use of the human form as a paradigm for architectural decorum gave rise, in sixteenth-century northern Europe, to an anthropomorphic mode of representation that reconciled the authority of convention with the demand for a vivid architectural vernacular. Theorists visualized, elaborated, and thereby *reinvented* the analogy between architecture and man at the foundation of Vitruvius's system of Orders as a flexible framework for conveying meaning. Yet the advent of new ways to picture diverse, anthropomorphic variations of the Orders did more than expand the possibilities for eloquent visual expression in architecture. Vredeman, Dietterlin, and Krammer all addressed a broad readership of architects, artists, and art-lovers. By the turn of the seventeenth century, their anthropomorphic vision of the Orders inspired treatises that spoke of adapting the inventions of the architect to the purposes of the painter. As figuration—a matter traditionally associated with painters and sculptors—gained a firmer place in architectural theory, modes of representation for architecture and the visual rhetoric of the figural arts overlapped more profoundly.

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Visage-paysage. Problème de peinture

Bertrand Prévost

Dans l'histoire de la peinture, le principe d'une image dédoublée en forme de tête-paysage est non seulement bien attesté mais encore jouit d'une stabilité iconographique assez marquée, au moins pour la peinture nordique des XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles [Fig. 14.1].[1] Mais il y a peut-être quelque chose d'esthétiquement décevant dans cette tradition, dès lors qu'elle se fige dans un quasi-genre et s'apparente alors à un double-jeu plastique et signifiant un peu facile et sans profondeur véritable, à la manière du célèbre canard-lapin : quelque chose de trop évident, de trop manifeste – ce qui ne préjuge rien de la richesse du terreau – artistique, chrétien, cosmologique – qui vient nourrir ces images, et qui outrepasse largement les limites d'un genre spécifique.[2] En revanche, verser ces images au dossier très général d'une nature anthropomorphisée, soit un motif qui traverse sans aucun doute les âges, les continents, les mythologies, ne fait peut-être que dissoudre le problème. Car il se pourrait bien qu'il y ait une singularité proprement *picturale*, du moins visuelle, du problème.

Tout porte à croire en effet que l'iconographie des têtes-paysages est un élément d'un problème beaucoup plus vaste, qui dépasse largement la série flamande ou même le XVᵉ siècle italien, pour toucher ce qu'il en irait de la peinture en Occident depuis quelques siècles. Parler de 'tête' n'est du reste pas la façon la plus appropriée de désigner au moins l'un des deux termes. Car la tête ne se confond pas avec le visage : si la première renvoie assez simplement à une partie du corps, fût-elle la plus importante, fût-elle le lieu où s'expriment les émotions, le visage doit se penser comme irréductible au corps : 'Le visage ne se produit que lorsque la tête cesse de faire partie du corps, lorsqu'elle cesse d'être codée par le corps, lorsqu'elle cesse elle-même d'avoir un code corporel

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1 Pour un aperçu général de la question, voir Tapié A. – Zwingenberger J., *L'Homme-paysage : visions artistiques du paysage anthropomorphe entre le 16ᵉ et le 21ᵉ siècle* [Cat. exp., Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille] (Paris : 2006); Hallyn F., « Le paysage anthropomorphe », in *Le sens des formes* (Genève : 1994) 153-166. Voir également Weemans M., *Herri Met de Bles. Les ruses du paysage* au temps de Bruegel et d'Érasme (Paris : 2013) 171-203.

2 Voir notamment la série de notices consacrées à « Paysage-visage » in Martin J.-H. (ed.), *Une image peut en cacher une autre. Arcimboldo, Dali, Raetz* [Cat. exp., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris] (Paris : 2009) 149-183.

FIGURE 14.1   *Unknown Artist*, Head-Landscape (*first half of the seventeenth century*).
Oil on wood, 30.6 × 21.4 cm. Private collection.

polyvoque multidimensionnel – lorsque le corps, tête comprise, se trouve
décodé et doit être *surcodé* par quelque chose qu'on appellera Visage'.[3]

   Visage-paysage : comment donc y voir une affaire de peinture ? A quelles
conditions en faire une sorte de double articulation de la peinture ? Nous ne
sommes certes pas le premier à repérer ici quelque chose de fondamental.
Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari ont déjà énoncé le problème sous la forme
d'une esquisse dessinée à grands traits : 'Le visage a un corrélat d'une grande
importance, le paysage, qui n'est pas seulement un milieu mais un monde
déterritorialisé';[4] 'La peinture s'inscrit dans un 'problème' qui est celui du
visage-paysage'.[5] Historiquement, la peinture occidentale – en sa théorie du
moins – n'a pas cessé de mettre en travail les deux aspects de ce qu'il faudra vite
appeler une double articulation, en mettant tantôt l'accent sur le visage, tantôt

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3   Deleuze G. – Guattari F., « Année zéro – Visagéité », in *Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2. Mille
    plateaux* (Paris : 1980) 208.

4   Ibidem 211.

5   Ibidem 369.

sur le paysage – mais jamais en annulant le rapport problématique entre les deux termes. Soit par exemple la peinture classique. Dès le *De pictura* de Leon Battista Alberti, l'*historia* est reconnue comme le 'grand œuvre du peintre' : la 'représentation d'une histoire', soit une composition à plusieurs personnages-figures unifiés autour d'une action. Il est alors pour le moins étrange que le livre II, celui-là même qui expose la théorie de l'*historia* sans doute la plus unifiée de la théorie de l'art humaniste et classique, s'ouvre par la question du portrait, en sa capacité de 'rendre présents les absents, mais encore de faire surgir après de longs siècles les morts aux yeux des vivants ; si bien qu'on les reconnaît, ce qui vaut au peintre la plus grande admiration et suscite le plus grand plaisir chez ceux qui regardent'.[6] A sa manière, Alberti réinvestissait la fiction théorique que Pline l'Ancien avait instituée au livre XXXV de son *Histoire naturelle*, en faisant de l'effigie comme image mémorielle le mythe d'origine de la peinture : la fille du potier Dibutades traçant sur le mur l'ombre portée de son amant sur le point de partir pour en conserver le souvenir. D'une certaine façon, c'est tout l'ancien système de la peinture classique qui aura pu se placer sous l'égide de la figure, reléguant le paysage au rang de simple décor. La question de la modernité picturale dans le courant du XIXe siècle devient alors cruciale puisqu'elle entérine le passage d'un système tout tendu vers la figure à un sytème tout tendu vers le paysage, car c'est bien le paysage qui a officié comme véhicule de la modernité picturale.

Mais l'histoire des genres picturaux ne saurait donner qu'une approximation très provisoire du problème. Car il faut tout de suite préciser que visage et paysage ne renvoient pas du tout à des objets ou des référents que la peinture représenterait, mais signent quelque chose comme une *fonction* picturale – une fonction problématique puisqu'elle se donne toujours comme dédoublée. Il ne sert à rien de chercher ici une évidence iconographique, reconnaissable, identifiable, même si en fait (et non en droit), visage et paysage auront pu se confondre avec certaines formes substantielles de la peinture, celles que l'on reconnaît traditionnellement comme le genre portrait, ou le genre paysage. En d'autres termes, ce qu'il faut entendre par paysage n'a rien à voir avec quelque 'représentation de la nature' (pour le dire de façon volontairement grossière) ; de même que le visage ne renvoie pas nécessairement à la surface exposée d'une tête humaine. Façon de poser qu'une image est toujours un visage/paysage, toujours un problème ou une 'histoire' de visage/paysage, même (voire surtout) quand aucun visage ou aucun paysage n'est représenté : double

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6   Alberti L. B., *La peinture* (*De pictura*), ed. – trad. T. Golsenne – B. Prévost – Y. Hersant (Paris : 2004) 97.

articulation de la peinture et non dialectique : non pas une opposition ou une tension, mais une corrélation, une présupposition réciproque.

Le statut théorique de cette corrélation ne dit évidemment rien de sa consistance, et il faut bien commencer par y mettre quelque chose de positif, fût-ce pour y revenir plus précisément. On posera que visage-paysage signe picturalement un rapport de la figure à l'étendue, de l'affect à l'espace, le visage témoignant d'un fait d'intensité, tandis que le paysage relèverait de l'ordre de l'extension. On tiendrait là deux formes historiques, ou des formes historiquement sinon anthropologiquement déterminées, servant à distinguer, donc à diviser autant qu'à comprendre, ce qui se donne comme une expérience une et continue dans la peinture : le fait qu'elle soit toujours à la fois une émotion et un espace, qu'elle se mesure selon le double régime des quantités extensives et intensives.

<p style="text-align:center">∵</p>

Toujours, un paysage dessine une extension, il développe une étendue autant qu'il se développe en étendue. Etendue et extension, ici pris comme synonymes, doivent s'entendre au sens le plus classique, à savoir : la partition se subsumant en un tout possible, la divisibilité en parties extérieures les unes aux autres, *partes extra partes.* Cela pour dire que le paysage a un rapport essentiel à la partie, au détail pictural, au *particolare* [Fig. 14.2]. Cela pour dire également qu'il trace un ordre du régulier, qu'il tisse toujours une régularité. Un paysage n'est donc pas du tout une unité indécomposable; c'est le rapport du tout à ses parties rendues homogènes. D'où l'égalité en droit de ses parties. Ce n'est pas qu'il y a des parties ou des détails dans le paysage, c'est que le paysage ne consiste qu'en ses détails, comme autant de parties équivalentes. Quand on oppose traditionnellement les figures au paysage, ce sont deux ordres irréductibles que l'on confronte : si certaines figures ont plus d'importance que d'autres, au regard de l'action (d'où la différence entre figures principales et secondaires), les éléments du paysage se donnent tous comme équivalents, sans hiérarchie. Il y a paysage quand l'arbre ne compte pas plus que le rocher, la prairie que le bois. Cela ne signifie pas qu'il est chaotique ou indéterminé mais qu'il y a seulement une neutralité dans la division. Le thème théorique— renaissant et classique – de la variété dans le paysage ne dit pas autre chose : d'Alberti à Pascal, il s'agit toujours de constater une accumulation de parties et de détails, d'additionner des éléments non hiérarchisés : collines, maisons, cours d'eaux, ponts, troupeaux . . . C'est pourquoi la figure poétique qui correspond le plus au paysage est bien *l'énumération*, autrement dit 'une série de

FIGURE 14.2   *Joachim Patinir*, Landscape with Saint Jerome (*ca. 1515-1519*). *Oil on wood, 74 × 91 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado.*

« il y a ».[7] Il n'y a qu'à voir, dans presque toute la littérature artistique de la Renaissance, ces longues listes sans fin de lieux ou de choses à voir dont l'accumulation produit justement le paysage. On comprend bien du reste pourquoi Francisco de Hollanda aura prêté à Michel-Ange ces propos célèbres par lesquels le peintre et sculpteur critique le paysage flamand : 'leur peinture est tout en chiffons, édicules, verdures des champs, taches sombres des arbres, rivières et ponts, qu'on appelle paysage, et beaucoup de figures éparpillées de ci de là. Toutes ces choses, encore qu'elles plaisent à certains yeux, faites de quotidien disposé sans raison ni art, sans symétrie ni proportions, sans souci de choix ou de scénographie ; bref, sans aucun sentiment, *dépourvues de nerf*'.[8] Un paysage 'dépourvu de nerf' : comment mieux dire une corporéité picturale désaffectée, sans tension ; une étendue de peinture qui n'est pas indivise ni indéterminée,

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7   Mérot A., *Du paysage en peinture dans l'Occident moderne* (Paris : 2009) 59.

8   Cité ibidem 46 (nous soulignons).

mais dont la division ne produit que des parties *neutres* ? A l'inverse, toute la théorie humaniste et classique de l'art placera l'intensité dans la figure, ou plutôt (et ce point est fondamental) la représentation de l'intensité : le corps en mouvement comme expression d'un mouvement de l'âme, autrement dit d'une tension intérieure. Et l'on sait quel nom prenait cette logique picturale des corps-affects : la composition, soit le principe d'une différenciation et d'une hiérarchisation des parties, un vaste ordonnancement qui intégrait et distribuait des corps.[9] D'un point de vue classique, on dira que le paysage ne se compose pas, puisqu'il lui manque une dimension verticale de synthèse en ne se déployant que dans l'horizontalité d'une distribution.

On touche sans doute là quelque chose d'essentiel pour mieux entendre l'avénement de la modernité picturale. Car si le paysage en est le véhicule – même dans les figures de Courbet ou de Manet, c'est en tant que puissance de neutralisation, c'est en tant qu'il vient annuler ou neutraliser la composition classique. Non pas que les peintures modernes ne soient pas 'composées', mais c'est le principe même de composition comme rapport réglé d'intégration et de distribution qui disparaît, ou plus exactement qui se *neutralise* : action et figures chez Courbet autant que chez Manet, paysage impressionniste proto-*all over*, paysage pointilliste (puisque c'est la touche elle-même qui se neutralise dans l'unité minimale d'un petit point), *all over* décoratif chez Matisse, *all over* expressif chez Pollock, monochrome, grille modulaire, etc. ; même la sculpture du XXe siècle est traversée par cette neutralisation de la composition, du constructivisme russe jusqu'aux *objets spécifiques* de Donald Judd.

$$\cdot\!\!\cdot\!\!\cdot$$

Le visage, on l'a dit, recouvre quant à lui un fait d'intensité ; il est donc par nature non étendu, ou du moins ne se confond jamais avec la forme extensive sous laquelle il se développe. Affectif ou intensif, le visage est toujours unitaire, à l'opposé du paysage toujours parcellaire. Ce qui ne signifie pas qu'il soit indifférencié, bien au contraire. Georg Simmel avait parfaitement éclairé l'étrange unité affective en quoi consiste le visage :

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9   Voir Alberti, *La peinture* II 35, 129 : 'Les parties de la représentation (*historia*) constituent les corps, la partie du corps constitue le membre, la partie du membre constitue la surface. Les premières parties d'une œuvre sont donc les surfaces, puisque les membres en sont issus, de même que des membres les corps et des corps l'histoire représentée ; et c'est bien ainsi que s'accomplit finalement et parfaitement l'œuvre du peintre'. Sur la théorie albertienne de la composition, nous nous permettons de renvoyer à Prévost B., *Peindre sous la lumière. Leon Battista Alberti et le moment humaniste de l'évidence* (Rennes : 2013) chap. IX.

Dans le corps humain, le visage est ce qui possède au plus haut point cette unité intrinsèque. Pour premier symptôme et pour preuve de cela : une modification ne concernant, en réalité ou en apparence, qu'un seul élément du visage change aussitôt son caractère et son expression dans leur entier, par exemple un tremblement des lèvres, un froncement du nez, manière de regarder, un plissement du front. En outre, il n'existe aucune partie du corps, constituant une certaine unité esthétique en soi, qu'une déformation en un point précis puisse aussi facilement, sur le plan esthétique, ruiner en sa totalité. . . . Ce qui essentiellement lui confère efficacité et intérêt esthétique, c'est que les élements du visage sont étroitement tenus ensemble dans l'espace et ne peuvent se déplacer que dans des limites très étroites.[10]

Le visage a bien rapport avec quelque surface – ce qui fondamentalement lui confère son unité, mais en tant que cette surface est parcourue de traits, de points, de marques. Autant dire que ce qui donne au visage sa nature affective ou intensive, c'est sa fondamentale discontinuité, le fait qu'il consiste d'abord en un rapport entre des points : yeux, nez, bouche . . . Mais ce système puncti-forme est impensable sans une surface qui le porte. C'est pourquoi Deleuze et Guattari, dans leur étude sur la visagéité, parlent du visage comme d'un sys-tème 'surface blanche-trou noir',[11] un système à deux têtes – si l'on peut dire – : une surface trouée. 'Le visage est cette plaque nerveuse porte-organes qui a sacrifié l'essentiel de sa mobilité globale, et qui recueille ou exprime à l'air libre toutes sortes de petits mouvements locaux que le reste du corps tient d'habi-tude enfouis'.[12] Pour user du vocabulaire de Deleuze et Guattari, le visage tien-drait donc dans l'articulation entre 1/ une surface ou une unité réfléchissante immobile (tel un cadran d'horloge) ; ce qui compte ici étant de saisir le visage comme contour, ligne enveloppante ; et 2/ des micro-mouvements intensifs ou expressifs (telles les aiguilles de l'horloge), des 'traits dispersés pris dans la masse, lignes fragmentaires brisées qui indiquent ici le tressaillement des lèvres, là l'éclat d'un regard, et entraînent une matière plus ou moins rebelle au contour'. Comprenons bien que les traits de visagéité, à la lettre, ne sont pas cor-porels, puisque le visage ne se confond pas avec la tête, puisqu'il n'est pas une partie du corps, puisqu'il n'est pas étendu. Une remarque dans la *Métoscopie* de Cardan vient expliciter sans équivoque ce décollement du visage par

10   Simmel G. « La signification esthétique du visage », in *La Tragédie de la culture et autres textes*, trad. S. Cornille – P. Ivernel (Paris : 1988) 139-141.

11   Deleuze – Guattari, « Année zéro – visagéité » 205.

12   Deleuze G., *Cinéma I* (Paris : 1982) 126.

rapport à la tête : 'prends garde que les rides ne te trompent et passent pour des lignes'.[13] Cardan énonce donc clairement qu'il ne faut pas confondre la tête (les rides comme lignes anatomiques, corporelles) avec le visage (les lignes ou 'traits de visagéité').

Quoi qu'il en soit, on saisit mieux dès lors la nature fondamentalement centripète ou centralisante du visage, comme 'puissance d'un moi central exerçant une maîtrise absolue sur chaque élément singulier',[14] et de fait la place éminente qu'il occupe en Occident dans tous les processus de subjectivation. Des pratiques sociales ordinaires ('tu en fais une tête ?!') aux pratiques savantes de la physiognomie, le visage s'offre comme une surface à lire, où les traits fonctionnent comme les marques d'une subjectivité, l'écriture d'un sujet.

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Gardons bien à l'esprit que Visage et Paysage ne renvoient pas à des formes ou des substances et encore moins à des genres, mais à des fonctions ou des processus, en sorte qu'il faudrait toujours parler de 'visagéification' autant que de 'paysagification' pour désigner les modes du faire-visage et du faire-paysage. Le christianisme occupe sur tous ces points une place fondamentale, à commencer par les processus de visagéification, sinon dans l'invention du visage lui-même. 'Le visage, c'est le Christ'.[15] Véroniques, Saintes Faces et autres suaires donnent sans aucun doute l'argument le plus explicite de cette particularité occidentale [Fig. 14.3]. Mais ce sont en réalité toutes les images chrétiennes qui se donnent comme Visage dans la mesure où elles fonctionnent comme des surfaces habitées ; dans la mesure où leur élément premier n'est pas l'*extensum* ni les qualités sensibles mais l'*intensum* d'une présence. Et c'est encore leur dynamique d'apparition, de mise en présence et non de présence comme état de chose, qui en fait de véritables visages. Là où le paysage fait élément, le visage fait événement, il surgit, marquant une discontinuité dans la contemplation lisse et continue du paysage. Duns Scott fera bien remarquer que toute apparition fait visage, que l'apparition de la puissance divine, la théophanie, s'appelle justement 'face' : 'les apparitions seront comme certaines faces exprimées'.[16]

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13   Cité par Courtine J. J. – Haroche Cl., *Histoire du visage. Exprimer et taire ses émotions (XVIe–début XIXe siècle)* (Paris : 1988) 59.

14   Simmel, « La signification esthétique du visage » 141.

15   Deleuze – Guattari, « Année zéro – visagéité » 218.

16   Jean Scot, *Periphyseon* V, 945 C, cité par Boulnois O., *Au delà de l'image. Une archéologie du visuel au Moyen Âge. Ve-XVIe siècle* (Paris : 2008) 147.

FIGURE 14.3   *Monogramist HL*, Veronica with Vera Icon (*sixteenth century*).
Woodcut, 29.7 × 15.1 cm., Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Aussi la visagéification chrétienne est-elle indissociable d'une puissance de subjectivation : être sujet chrétien, c'est se (sous)mettre devant la Face, autant qu'inscrire le Christ-visage dans sa propre chair. La pratique du signe de croix, notamment, n'est pas autre chose qu'une visagéification opérant par points et mordant sur toute la partie supérieure du corps. Ou encore, faut-il s'étonner si c'est précisément parmi les peintres qui ont poussé très loin l'investigation et la construction picturale de leur subjectivité par l'autoportrait que le travail sur la figure en gros plan du Christ acquiert une importance iconographique de tout premier plan ? Que l'on songe évidemment à celui qui passe pour l'inventeur de l'autoportait, Dürer, qui a précisément fait se rencontrer les deux séries dans l'*Autoportait* de 1500 ; ou que l'on songe encore au parallélisme entre la série des *Têtes du Christ* chez Rembrandt et la série des *Autoportraits*.[17]

C'est d'abord tout son corps que le Christ sait visagéifier :[18] ainsi lorsque ses pieds stigmatisés, dans l'*Homme de douleur* que grave Dürer au frontispice de la *Petite Passion*, se donnent par leur 'frontalité insistante' comme 'seuls yeux [...] face à quoi le dévot sera requis désormais de se situer, de s'agenouiller mentalement, fantasmatiquement, avant de parcourir les *carmina* illustrés de la Passion gravée'.[19] Ou encore lorsque la plaie béante sur son flanc s'ouvre telle une bouche grimaçante de douleur [Fig. 14.4].

Mais c'est encore dans ses milieux ou ses paysages propres que le Christ instille son visage. Les paysages de Mantegna sont exemplaires sur ce point. On ne vise pas tant ici les détails traditionnellement reconnus comme figurés ou figuratifs – nuages-visages – mais plutôt l'*étrangeté* des paysages où des visages

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17   Il est regrettable que l'exposition *Rembrandt et la figure du Christ*, soit totalement passée à côté de la corrélation avec la série des autoportraits. Voir Dewitt L. – Ducos B. – Keyes G. S. (eds.), *Rembrandt et la figure du Christ* [Cat. exp., Musée du Louvre, Paris] (Paris : 2011). Détail qui ne manque pas de piquant : la version parisienne de cette exposition tenait place juste en face d'une autre exposition, consacrée à. la question du paysage chez Le Lorrain [Van Tuyll van Serooskerken C. van – Plomp M. C. – Mancini F., *Claude Gellée, dit le Lorrain: Le dessinateur face à la nature*, [Cat. exp., Musée du Louvre, Paris; Teylers Museum, Haarlem] (Paris: 2011)].

18   Ce qu'avaient déjà remarquablement noté Deleuze – Guattari, « Année zéro – visagéité » 219 : '[...] la peinture a joué de toutes les ressources du Christ-visage. La machine abstraite de visagéité, mur blanc-trou noir, elle s'en est servi dans tous les sens pour produire avec le visage du Christ toutes les unités de visage, mais aussi tous les écarts de déviance. Il y a une jubilation de la peinture à cet égard, du Moyen Age à la Renaissance, comme une liberté effrénée. Non seulement le Christ préside à la visagéification de tout le corps (son propre corps), à la paysagification de tous les milieux (ses propres milieux), mais il compose tous les visages élémentaires, et dispose de tous les écarts : Christ-athlète de foire, Christ maniériste-pédé, Christ-nègre ou du moins Vierge noire en marge du mur'.

19   Didi-Huberman G., *Devant l'image. Question posée aux fins d'une histoire de l'art* (Paris : 1990) 210.

FIGURE 14.4   *Carlo Crivelli*, Piéta *(1473). Tempera on wood. Ascoli Piceno, San Emidio Cathedral, Capella del Sacramento. Detail, Christ's torso.*

se cherchent, demeurent inchoatifs, en deçà de toute dimension référentielle [Fig. 14.5]. Cette étrangeté, cette visagéification toute minérale, pourrait bien tenir dans les choix stylistiques et figuraux de Mantegna, proches à cet égard des peintres ferrarais. C'est que Mantegna traite les masses rocheuses comme des formes globales relativement simples, comme des ensembles unitaires et compacts dont le contour se dessine facilement. En revanche, *l'intérieur* de ces formes se distingue par sa nature extrêmement ligneuse, par son dessin très complexe. Rochers et montagnes sont parcourus par un infinité d'accidents minéraux, mais qui n'affectent pas la forme d'ensemble. Qu'est-ce à dire sinon que l'on trouverait quelque chose comme la *détermination formelle* de

FIGURE 14.5   *Andrea Mantegna*, The Agony in the Garden (*ca. 1455*). *Tempera on wood, 63 × 80 cm.*
               London, The National Gallery. Detail, landscape.

la visagéification ? – à savoir, et pour reprendre le vocabulaire de Deleuze et Guattari : l'unité d'une surface réfléchissante immobile et une série de traits dispersés.

Cela étant, on aura bien compris que la visagéfication doit s'entendre comme un processus abstrait, par-delà toute reconnaissance d'un visage, ce qui ne signifie pas que ses dynamismes ne soient pas singuliers. Georges Didi-Huberman, sans doute précisément parce que son terrain originel a été celui des images chrétiennes, est peut-être allé le plus loin dans le relevé de ces visages non-ressemblants, de cette visagéité abstraite ou figurale : que ce soit dans les faces régulières d'un cube, dans *Die* de Tony Smith (1962),[20] ou dans cet étrange autre *Cube* de Giacometti (1934).[21] Car ce qui fait visage dans ces œuvres, ce n'est point quelque représentation de visage, fût-elle indéterminée ou inchoative, pas plus qu'une projection imaginaire, mais leur capacité à nous imposer leur regard, par-delà ou deçà de la figuration d'yeux : visage ou face vient ici nommer une intensité apparaissante qui ne se confond pas avec la forme sous laquelle elle se détermine mais qui pourtant demeurerait insensible si elle venait à lui manquer.

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20   Voir idem, *Ce que nous voyons, ce qui nous regarde* (Paris : 1992).

21   Voir idem, *Le cube et le visage. Autour d'une scultpure d'Alberto Giacometti* (Paris : 1993).

La paysagification, à la lettre, ne renvoie pas à un autre pôle mais bien à un processus corollaire : elle décrit plutôt le double de toute visagéification, soit cette façon si particulière d'étendre un visage, de le partitionner, de le rendre parcourable. Voyons par exemple comment L'Arétin, dans ses *Trois livres de l'humanité de Jésus-Christ*, fait du visage du Christ un véritable milieu, composant avec le corps même de sa mère :

> Mais voici que la Vierge est arrivée. Elle va cherchant son fils des yeux ; et en le voyant, elle ne le reconnut pas, car il ne semblait plus être lui-même. Sa tête ressemblait à un pin sans branches, son front à un carreau de cristal plein de glace, ses sourcils à deux fils noirs étirés très finement. Ses joues n'étaient pas différentes du rosier d'hiver. Son nez semblait être une petite flûte d'argent filé écrasée par l'artisan négligent. Sa barbe ressemblait vraiment à une racine de violettes privée de sève. Son visage tout entier prenait l'apparence de l'aube d'un jour enseveli sous les nuages. Mais elle, qui le reconnut parce qu'elle était sa mère, reprit assurance dans sa douleur, traversa la presse pour s'avancer jusqu'à Jésus, à la manière d'un fleuve puissant qui, en entrant dans la mer, fait surnager les eaux douces sur une grande distance [...].[22]

L'*imago pietatis* est sans nul doute un cas remarquable (Fig. 14.6). Image-visage par excellence, elle se montre *de fait* particulièrement apte à faire se lever des paysages du Christ. Ce n'est pas, du moins en droit, la figuration du visage du Christ qui lui confère sa visagéité que l'intensité d'une surface habitée dont le véhicule plastique se remarque essentiellement dans le gros plan : tête de Christ autant que Plaie. Mais ce visage fait paysage par l'accumulation de détails : goutte de sang, larme, poil de barbe, cheveux, épines de la couronne..., soient autant de marques qui fonctionnent comme des points à parcourir, comme autant de stations par lesquelles le regard du dévot devra passer, s'arrêter, méditer, dessinant ainsi quelque chose comme une carte christique avec ses chemins, ses lieux, ses vallées, ses montagnes, ses plaines [...] : tout un paysage affectif. Le cadrage serré concourt de la même façon à faire perdre au visage son unité, sa forme synthétique intensive, pour le transformer en un flux local ou topique, autant dire un espace à parcourir.

Le thème chrétien de la pérégrination spirituelle, avec ses cheminements, ses bifurcations, ses ascensions voire ses chutes, se montre particulièrement apte pour mieux nous faire comprendre la possibilité d'un pèlerinage visuel

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22   Aretino P., *Trois livres de l'humanité de Jésus-Christ* (1534-1535), « Le Chemin de croix et la Crucifixion », trad. J. de Vauzelles (1539), revue par E. Kammerer (Paris : 2004) 66.
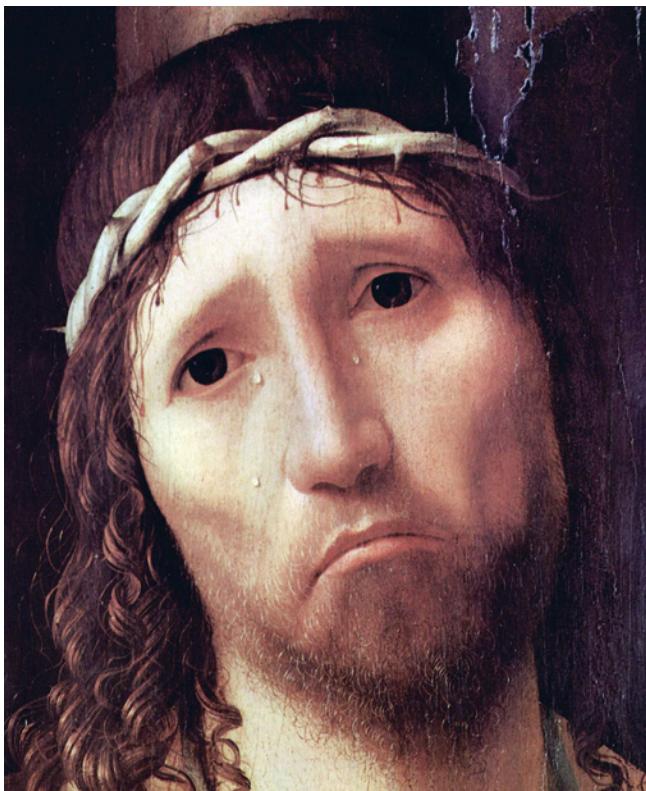
FIGURE 14.6   *Antonello da Messina*, Ecce Homo (*ca. 1475*). *Oil on Wood, 48.5 × 38 cm. Piacenza, Galleria di Collegio Alberoni. Detail, Christ's face.*

et affectif.[23] On sait qu'il n'est pas étranger au développement de la *devotio moderna*, à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance, instaurant par ses techniques méditatives quelque chose comme un espace intérieur, un paysage mental, lui-même véhicule d'une nouvelle subjectivité chrétienne à l'aube de la modernité. Les *Exercices spirituels* d'Ignace de Loyola (1548) pour ne citer que ce célèbre texte, s'ouvrent non par hasard par une 'composition de lieu' (*composicion de lugar*), soit la constitution d'un espace imaginaire abstrait à

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23   Voir notamment Weemans M., « Le paysage comme pérégrination spirituelle et exégèse visuelle », in Tapié A. – Weemans M. (eds.), *Fables du paysage flamand. Bosch, Bles, Brueghel, Bril* [cat. exp., Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille] (Paris : 2012) 76-83. Voir également Falkenburg R. L., *Joachim Patinir. Landscape as an Image of Pilgrimage of Life* (New York : 1989).

FIGURE 14.7   *Unknown Flemish artist*, Arma Christi (*1560*). *Oil on
                wood, 59 × 46 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

même d'accueillir des visions de scènes.[24] Il est donc tout à fait légitime de
faire fonctionner une telle pérégrination avec des peintures de paysages, des
paysages *de fait*, avec leurs montagnes, leurs vallées, leurs plaines, etc. Mais
peut-être plus fondamentalement, il reste à comprendre la possibilité d'un
paysage *de droit*, qui ne serait plus donné *pour* un parcours, mais qui serait plu-
tôt produit ou construit *par* ce même parcours : une paysagification comme
processus et non plus un paysage comme genre. Soit par exemple le thème des
Arma Christi [Fig. 14.7], cette façon d'exposer sur un mode héraldique les ins-
truments de la Passion, signifiant par là-même que les hauts-faits (d'armes) du

24   Sur la composition de lieu, voir notamment Fabre P. A., *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l'image*
      (Paris : 1992).

Christ sont ceux de son humiliation (s'ils accompagnent souvent la figure d'un Christ de piété, ils peuvent plus rarement gagner leur autonomie spatiale) : colonne, éponge, lance, calice, fouet, clous, couronne d'épines, baiser de Judas, coups des bourreaux, etc. Qu'est-ce que tous ces éléments, ces lieux, mettent en œuvre sinon une paysagification de la Passion, sinon une façon de faire de la Passion un territoire, un espace parcourable parce que différencié en plusieurs lieux ? Soit encore toutes ces images qui déploient la Vierge en un paysage allégorique (figural plus exactement) : jardin clôs, château, lys, fontaine, vase, etc., façon là encore de développer une cartographie mariale que le sujet chrétien pourra arpenter, alternant les déplacements et les pauses, les accélérations, les transports et les moments méditatifs. Surtout, il s'agit – question centrale de toute pratique de méditation – d'explorer, donc de diviser, de différencier *entre* des parties, *dans* un motif réputé unitaire, infrangible : comment imaginer la virginité de Marie, par exemple (ce cas redoublant allégoriquement la question !) sinon en en faisant non pas une idée théologique abstraite, s'imposant dans toute son évidence de foi (autrement dit son inévidence de raison), mais bien un espace à déplier, un lieu ouvert à de multiples déplacements ?[25]

Il est évident que la disposition tabulaire, la distribution tout en surface, de ces images de dévotion concourt fortement à leur fonction extensive, à leur capacité à produire du paysage. A cet égard, il faut peut-être se défaire de l'association spontanée entre le paysage en peinture et la profondeur illusionniste, au prétexte que les paysages flamands du XVIe siècle – pour se limiter à eux – montreraient des territoires s'étendant jusqu'à des infinis bleutés. Toujours l'historien de l'art doit savoir de quelle profondeur il parle : une profondeur illusionniste, mesurable, autrement dit une troisième dimension qui n'est dans le fond que le rabattement perpendiculairement au plan d'une deuxième dimension[26] (ce qu'on nommera rapidement une profondeur humaniste); ou bien une profondeur irréductible à toute dimension mesurable, une profondeur intensive, *dans* ou *de* la surface, dans la mesure où elle est toujours affleurante (ce qu'on nommera rapidement une profondeur chrétienne)? On ne peut en effet retirer au paysage l'horizontalité du sol, de la terre, du pays, même quand il est de format vertical. De fait, les formats paysagers horizontaux, et l'on pense évidemment aux paysages cosmiques flamands du XVIe siècle (*Weltlandschaft*), insistent sur une ligne d'horizon placée très haut, étalant de la sorte la terre sur la surface du panneau. Christopher Wood fait

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25   Brillamment étudiés par Georges Didi-Huberman dans *Fra Angelico. Dissemblance et figuration* (Paris : 1990) 2e partie.

26   Pour reprendre la juste critique de la profondeur illusionniste telle que Merleau-Ponty la repérait chez Descartes. Voir *L'œil et l'esprit* (Paris : 1964) 45.

d'ailleurs justement remarquer que 'le mot paysage, en italien (*paese*), en allemand (*Landschaft*) et en néerlandais (*landschap*), a signifié terrain ou campagne avant de signifier paysage peint'.[27]

Il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'en appeler à une sempiternelle et abstraite 'affirmation de la surface' pour penser la paysagification, mais plutôt de voir comment c'est la parcourabilité du plan qui produit un paysage ou, à la lettre, une *page*.[28] Que la paysagification doive s'entendre littéralement comme une *pagination*, ce n'est pas seulement là une question d'étymologie. Il faut, une fois encore, insister sur une dimension processuelle, voire pragmatique, qui ne fait pas du paysage une chose mais un processus, qui en l'occurrence lie un dynamisme plastique à une pratique. Comment comprendre que la pérégrination du regard dévot dans l'image doive s'entendre comme une lecture ? Certes, la théologie ou la mystique du Livre de la Nature, apportera dès la fin du Moyen Age, une solution explicite, voyant dans les paysages peints une sorte d'écriture mystique à même les élements naturels. Mais la paysagification est antérieure (et cette fois pas qu'en droit, mais bien en fait, historiquement) au paysage comme genre. C'est qu'avant d'être visuelle, la méditation chrétienne s'est notamment entendue comme un acte de lecture, ce qui au demeurant était précisément une façon d'engager une certaine visualité. Le rapport entre page et paysage se fonde alors sur une pratique de la lecture conçue comme un mode de parcours visuel ou oculaire. Dès la fin du XIIe siècle, et davantage encore au XIIIe siècle, la méditation scripturale, par le passage d'une lecture à voix haute à une lecture pour soi, fût-elle encore prononcée sur les lèvres, a engagé une nouvelle pagination des manuscrits, pour en faciliter la consultation visuelle. Il s'agissait dès lors d'ouvrir un espace méditatif coextensif à l'espace du livre et à sa mise en page : parcours des lignes, des mots, repérages dans la page, arpentage d'un paragraphe, etc. Hugues de Saint Victor pouvait ainsi écrire que 'la méditation tire son commencement de la lecture (…) car elle se complaît à parcourir un espace ouvert, où elle fixe son libre regard sur la contemplation de la vérité, rapprochant les causes des choses […]'.[29] C'est

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27   Wood C., *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (London : 1993) 47.

28   Ce que C. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer* 47-49, a très bien remarqué : 'the horizontal format offered the landscape as a surface to be read'.

29   Hugues de Saint Victor, *Didascalion*, III, 10, 142, cité par Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image* 119. Boulnois résume ainsi la méthode, très proche des arts de la mémoire : 'Hugues demande à l'étudiant de se construire un espace intérieur imaginaire (modus imaginandi domesticus). Il enseigne aux débutants à visualiser une séquence de nombres entiers, et à y associer les données correspondantes (par exemple, le premier mot de chaque Psaume). Selon ces « lieux », l'on fixe dans l'esprit les images du texte, avec ses traits saullaits (couleur, forme des lettres, endroits où l'on a pu le lire). Quand l'itinéraire est bien inscrit
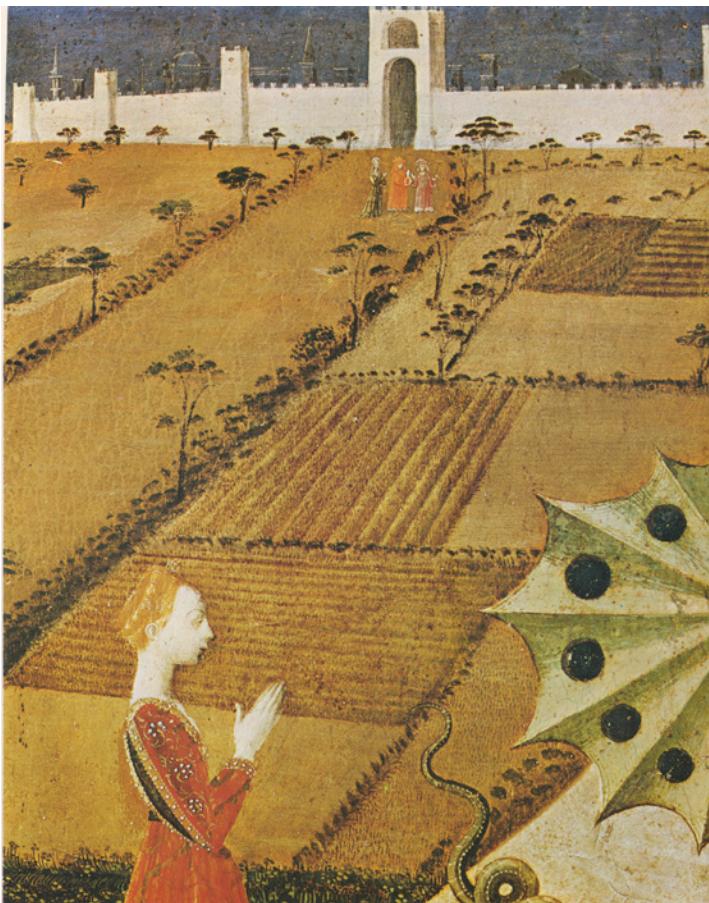
FIGURE 14.8   *Paolo Uccello*, Saint George *(ca. 1458-60). Oil on canvas, 52 × 90 cm.*
                 Paris, Jacquemart André Museum. Detail, landscape.

cette lecture comme parcours, comme arpentage de la page qui peut en faire
une authentique 'méthode de visualisation'. L'instauration d'un espace imagi-
naire articulé, divisé en lieux à parcourir (est-ce par hasard qu'Hugues de Saint
Victor est encore l'auteur d'une *Descriptio mappae mundi* ?) amène évidem-
ment à rapprocher la paysagification des arts de la mémoire, à la différence
notable que le principe de division chez ces derniers dépend d'un ordre hiérar-
chique (à la lettre, une architectonique), tandis que le paysage s'offre au risque

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dans l'imagination de l'élève, l'exercice consiste à « visiter » mentalement ces nombres
au hasard. Après une pratique suffisante, ces visites deviennent aussi naturelles que les
mouvements de la main du changeur qui sait exactement dans quelle poche il trouvera la
bonne monnaie'.

FIGURE 14.9   *Pieter Bruegel the elder*, The Fall of Icarus (*ca. 1565*). *Oil on canvas, 73.5 × 112 cm.*
                Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Art. Detail, left half of composition.

d'une continuité plastique a-tectonique (ce qui ne veut évidemment pas dire
qu'il soit chaotique).

Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est bien cette façon de visiter une page, de se promener
dans le texte qui fait germer un paysage dans une mise en page. Page, paysage :
en latin, *pagina* désigne d'abord la treille ou la rangée de vigne formant un qua-
drilatère lui même plus ou moins quadrillé. Terme rural, terrien et agricole, il
renvoie essentiellement à un *espace régulièrement articulé*. De la même façon,
pagus signifie le bourg, le village, le district ou le canton en tant que territoire
délimité par des bornes. Ce riche champ lexical (c'est évidemment lui qui a
donné 'païen') dérive du verbe *pango*, lui aussi un mot de la terre : ficher en
terre, fixer, enfoncer, planter, et par extension, établir, composer une œuvre.
C'est donc du côté du cadastre, du bornage et de la délimitation qu'il fait signe
(et l'on sait l'importance que ces choses ont pu avoir dans la pensée juridique
romaine). Ce n'est donc que par extension que *pagina* en est venu à désigner ce
qu'on entend ordinairement par 'page', soit le feuillet ou la colonne d'écriture
où les lettres, lignes d'écriture et paragraphes se distribuent régulièrement (nos

FIGURE 14.10   *Claude Mellan*, The Holly Face (*1649*). *Engraving, 43 × 31.8 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des estampes.*

modernes feuilles quadrillées d'écoliers sont exemplaires à cet égard).[30] Dans l'histoire du *genre* paysage, cette fois, on sait quel parti proprement plastique les peintres ont pu tirer de l'aspect régulièrement articulé du champ cultivé : des campagnes d'Uccello, avec ses espaces striés géométriques – ou comment

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30   Voir Ernout A. – Meillet A., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris : 2001) 474-475 et 479.

faire du paysage une question de perspective (Fig. 14.8),[31] aux sillons de labour de Bruegel, dans *La chute d'Icare* (Fig. 14.9), infléchissant les lignes droites du précédent dans une perspective curviligne venant plier un paysage-monde. Mais encore, il faudrait voir si la grille moderniste, tout comme la question de la (pas nécessairement *color*)-*field* painting ne pourraient s'éclairer d'une lumière nouvelle.[32]

Que ces modes de paysagification ne nous fassent pas quitter le visage, c'est bien ce que montre à la lettre cette page gravée de Claude Mellan figurant une Sainte Face (Fig. 14.10) : les ondulations du voile se confondent avec le relief du visage comme autant de lignes de paysage. Mais surtout, et non sans ingéniosité, le graveur a articulé aux traits de visagéité du Christ, idéalement centrés, des sillons paysagers, la pointe du graveur ayant labouré la plaque de cuivre d'une seule ligne spiralée, au départ du nez ('Formatur unicus una' – l'Unique est formé d'une seule (ligne), commente la légende en bas de l'image). En sorte que le dévot spectateur ne peut constater l'invention plastique qu'à suivre cette ligne centrale, qu'à sillonner cette Face, qu'à cheminer dans un visage-paysage.

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31   Il n'est pas anondin que ces espaces réguliers se donnent à voir dans des images de Saint Georges qui mettent notamment en œuvre une opposition entre la régularité de la terre arable et cultivée et la stérilité du lieu du dragon. Voir les belles analyses de Didi-Huberman G., *Saint Georges et le dragon. Versions d'une légende* (Paris : 1994).

32   Sur la grille moderniste, voir l'étude célèbre de Krauss R., « Grilles », in *L'originalité de l'avant-garde et autres mythes modernistes*, trad. J. P. Criqui (Paris : 1993) 93-109.

Figuring the Impossible

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Nobody's Bruegel

Christopher P. Heuer

It is spring (Fig. 15.1).[1] The famous red- and grey-cloaked peasant, face down-turned, once again slices turf across from a giant bird amid a cluster of vines, and bushes. Trees are sprouting their first leaves of the year. Icarus, his legs kicking in the waves, drowns in an explosion of white feathers, while in the far distance, ships tack towards a port. In Bruegel's beloved Brussels picture, all are indifferent to one another, and all, as W. H. Auden famously put it in 1938, have 'somewhere to get to'. The idea of *Icarus* as a fable of cosmic order, of knowing one's place in the world, in history, in societal life, is a commonplace in the art-historical literature.[2] And the work's schematic formal organization—plowing peasant, water, sky—while rare among Bruegel's surviving paintings, has entreated the *Icarus* to generations of poets exploring human microcosms of various kinds. And yet the pivot of the work is death in its different forms. Close inspection reveals the mysterious, upturned head of a corpse next to the far background (Fig. 15.2)—a murdered 'everyman' to Ovid's *Icarus*.[3] This difference would seem to offer a quiet cipher for the violence inherent in this human order, the aphorism of "dead men telling no tales" in Bruegel's picture, hubris is punished not through spectacle, but by indifference to it.

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1 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 183–235; Williams W. C., *Pictures from Bruegel and Other Poems* (New York: 1962) 4. On Auden and the picture see the lovely Nemerov A., "The Flight of Form: Auden, Bruegel, and the Turn to Abstraction in the 1940s", *Critical Inquiry* 31, 4 (Summer 2005) 780–810.

2 Vöhringer C., *Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. Landschaft mit pflügendem Bauern und Ikarussturz* (Munich: 2002) 14–17; 156–173; Vries L. de, "Bruegel's 'Fall of Icarus': Ovid or Solomon?", *Simiolus* 30, 1/2 (2003) 4–18.

3 Klein A. – Klein N., *Peter Bruegel the Elder: Artist of Abundance* (New York: 1968) 68; '[…] a round white object lying beyond the plowed furrows. Only close inspection reveals it as the neglected corpse of a man!' also noted in Wyss B., "Der Dolch am linken Bildrand. Zur Interpretation von Pieter Bruegels Landschaft mit dem Sturz des Ikarus", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51, 2 (1988) 224.

FIGURE 15.1   *Circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Landscape with the Fall of Icarus (*1560s*).
                Oil on canvas, 73.5 × 112 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts. Photo: © Royal
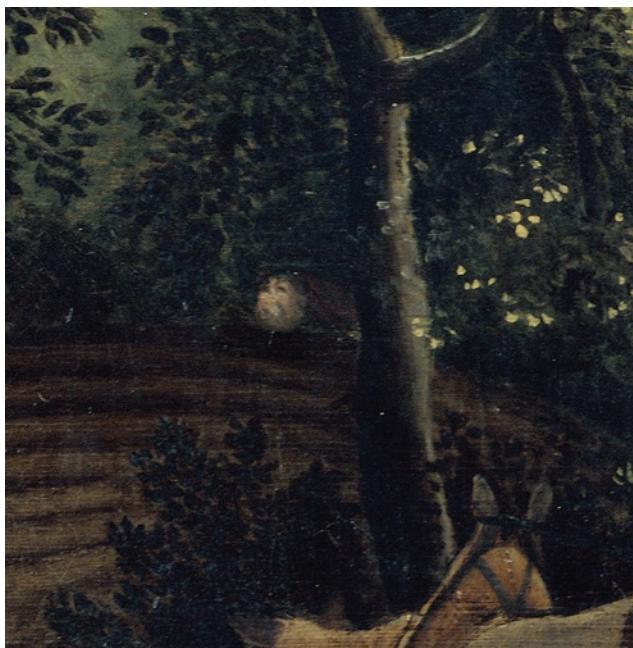   *Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels.*

FIGURE 15.2   *Circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Landscape with the
                Fall of Icarus (*1560s*). *Oil on canvas, 73.5 × 112 cm.*
                Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts. Detail of
                Fig. 15.1. Photo: © Royal Museums of Fine Arts
                of Belgium, Brussels.

What was anonymity around Bruegel's moment, and what is its place within an art history privileging names? In 1864 Theodor Vischer wrote about the strangeness of 'nameless' subjects within defined genre painting. These formed the opposite of historical monumentality; as an art of 'manners', genre disavowed the *specific*, the identifiable: 'The painter of manners shows us a common woman, the history painter a Cleopatra; the one a nameless warrior, a statesman, the other an Alexander the Great, a Pericles, a Cromwell; the one an unknown religious fanatic, the other a Hus, a Luther [...]'.[4] Vischer's Romantic *Sittenmaler* puts types and characters before a viewer but, unlike a history painter, does not make them individuals. The history painter, that is, traffics in *names:* Cromwell, Cleopatra, Hus. The genre painter, meanwhile, brings the everyday closer, but at the price of profundity. Working backward from the *Icarus*, this essay will consider the idea that in certain German and Netherlandish artworks' oft-discussed visualization of 'genre' subjects *like* peasants (such as that dominating Bruegel's picture plane here), certain artists and writers uniquely *negotiated* anonymity to explore alternative species of pictorial 'history'.

I

The painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts now seems to be most likely a later copy by an unknown hand.[5] Like so many other pictures associated with Bruegel the *Icarus* banks on the dynamism between detail and whole. Visually, the canvas images Vischer's dyad of genre and history, viewed from afar, aligning with late Bruegel works of 'faceless' peasants, including the *Summer* and *Spring* drawings from Hamburg, engraved by Pieter van der Heyden in 1570, or the *Beekeepers* in Berlin (Fig. 15.3).[6]

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4   Vischer F. T., *Ästhetik, oder Wissenschaft des Schönen*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: 1857) IV 663: 'Der Sitten-Maler zeigt uns irgend ein buhlerisches Weib, der Geschichts-Maler eine Cleopatra, jener einen namenlosen Krieger, Staatsmann, dieser einen Alexander den Gr[osse ...] einen Perikles, Cromwell, jener einen Unbekannten mit dem Ausdruck religiöser Begeisterung, dieser einen Hus, einen Luther [...]'.

5   Roberts-Jones P. – Reisse J. – Roberts-Jones-Popelier F., "*Bruegel invenit*. La Chute d'Icare: mise au point et controverse", *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser. 17, 1/6 (2006) 179–189; Allart D., "La Chute d'Icare des Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique a Bruxelles", in Duchesne J. P. – Allart D. – Kairis P.-Y. (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Colman: Art & Fact* 15 (Liege: 1996) 104–107; and the excellent recent overview of the Bruegel literature in general in Kaschek B., *Weltzeit und Endzeit*: *Die Monatsbilder Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.* (Munich: 2012) 19–30.

6   Mielke H*., Pieter Bruegel. Die Zeichnungen* (Turnhout: 1996) nos. 64, 66, 67.

These are all visual commentaries, it would seem, on agrarian labor, on
the boundedness of man to the earth and to time. Here referenced is the peas-
antry's industry and virtue subsisting, in some readings, in a lack of individual
selfhood.[7] Bruegel's workers defy a synonymy of identity and self. Edward Snow
spoke of Bruegel's 'anonymous collective purpose'.[8] Gustav Glück pointed to
the undifferentiated figures within his landscapes.[9] And indeed, animated in
both the drawings and the *Icarus*, is a proverbial Flemish theme dating back
far before Bruegel—the peasant as a creature without specifics, a specimen
from a different age: 'Nemo sic mores vetustos estimat ut rusticus' (Nobody
keeps old customs like a peasant) went a late medieval Flemish saying based
on—unsurprisingly—Ovid.[10]

7   Baldwin R., "Peasant Imagery and Bruegel's "Fall of Icarus" *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 55
       (1986) 101–114.
8   Snow E., *Inside Bruegel: The Play of Images in Children's Games* (New York: 1997) 4.
9   Glück G., *Das Große Bruegel-Werk* (Vienna – Munich: 1953) 29.
10   Obrán A. P., "Het spreekwoordelijke beeld van de 'rusticus', de boer, in de Middeleeuwen",
       in Stuip R. E. V. – Vellekoop C. (eds.), *Gewone mensen in de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: 1987)
       22–50. I am grateful to Stephanie Porras for this reference.

II

There is, in fact, also no shortage of writing on Bruegel's negotiation *of* Renaissance tropes of 'Nobody', and his dialectical cousin, 'Everyman', whom Bruegel, of course, portrayed in a 1558 pen and ink drawing in London of 'Elck' (Fig. 15.4).[11] As Mitchell Merback and Jürgen Müller have shown, the antique figure of nobody (from Nemo—what the Cyclops called his unseen attacker) allegorized self-knowledge or blame, a beleaguered stoic in a sinful world. Yet Nemo was a man of his time. In 1505 and 1517 the knight and militant Lutheran Ulrich van Hutten authored two separate tracts entitled *Nemo*, which were reprinted and translated throughout the century.[12] In these, 'Nemo' was not just a satirical symbol, but also a cipher for the conceptual dynamism *of* personifications themselves. Niemand, that is, kept reference internal, constantly equivocating, as Saint/sinner, Living/Dead,

FIGURE 15.4   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder,* Elck *(1558). Pen and brown wash on prepared paper, 21 × 9.3 cm. London, British Museum.*

11   Stridbeck C. G., *Bruegelstudien* (Uppsala: 1956) 43–61. Zupnick I., "The Meaning of Bruegel's 'Nobody' and 'Everyman'", *Gazette de Beaux-Arts* 67, 1 (1966) 257–270.
12   E.g. Hutten Ulrich von, *Nemo* (Basel, Johannes Frobenius: 1518).

'hier und Nichts'.[13] He produced a litany of contradictory roles and places for himself. For Hutten, that is, Nemo/Niemand, thrives on paradox: rather than cancel signification, he blurs the reader's relationship to stable reference itself, upsetting the fixed frames by which discourse can be measured.[14] And yet in Bruegel's image, the hobbled Elck is less a figure of ludic ambivalence than of outright negation; the negation of sight—of art itself—as a route to human knowledge.[15]

After Hutten and others, Niemand emerged as a Protestant icon in German lands; broadsheets, such as Jörg Schan's from 1507 and 1533, cast him as a way-farer or beggar.[16] In an anti-papal lext by Johannes Ferrarius from 1519 Nemo was proffered as an outright radical, whose name at once fused a human-ist pun and a screen of anonymous authorship: 'Nemo dictavit'—nobody dictates.[17] A connection between 'Nobody' and peasant revolt emerged strongly. 'Nobody's' link in German lands was cemented during the upris-ings from 1524, at least among victorious burgers; a popular German ballad of 1525 spoke of the defeat of the rebellious 'Bauern' as a vanquishing both of 'Niemand' and of 'Jedermann'—nameless characters who were, curiously, fel-lows rather than opposites.[18]

By 1563, when the Zürich firm of Christoph Froschauer published an amazing peasant calendar (Fig. 15.5), Niemand featured in a giant woodcut.[19] A couplet

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13   Hutten in Münch E., (ed.): *Ulrich von Huttens Jugend-Dichtungen* (Schwäbisch – Hall: 1858) 152.

14   And in this it shares much with period notions of paradox. Braun M., *Untersuchungen zu 'Niemand'—Beitrag zur Geschichte einer paradoxen literarischen Figur und ihrer Darstellung im Bild* (Stuttgart: 1994) 12–19, points out that when portrayed in visual art rather than in text or in speech, some of Nemo's 'spatial' ambiguity is cancelled; he becomes 'fixed' on a page.

15   As suggested in Parshall P., "Some Visual Paradoxes in Northern Renaissance Art", *Wascana Review* 9, 1 (Spring 1974) 97–104, esp. 101–2, and more expansively in Rothstein B., "The Problem with Looking at Pieter Bruegel's *Elck*", *Art History* 26, 2 (April 2003) 143–173.

16   See Fricke H., *'Niemand wird lessen, was ich hier schriebe'. Über den Niemand in der Literatur*, (Göttingen: 1998) 80–86.

17   And yet Niemand was not always 'on the Protestant side', as posited, for example, in Calmann G., "The Picture of Nobody: An Iconographical Study", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23, 1/2 (1960) 84. A Catholic broadsheet with a riposte to Hutten's own 'Nemo', for example, appeared in 1528, wherein Nemo, far from a revolutionary, was the symbol of the truly pious (and non-existent) Christian. See Braun, *Niemand*, 30–33.

18   Liliencron R. von, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: 1867) III, no. 381.

19   Baurmeister U., "Einblattkalender aus der Offizin Froschauer in Zürich. Versuch einer Übersicht", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 50 (1975) 131ff; and more generally on the use of such

FIGURE 15.5   *Anonymous.* "Der Nieman wird genennet ich. . . .", *part of the Peasant Calendar (Zürich, Christoph Froschauer: 1563). Letterpress and woodcut in black and red ink, 42.1 × 26 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes.*

announces him as he enters: 'I am called Nieman / One blames me for whatever is wrong' (*Der Nieman wird genennet ich / Was unrechts geschicht das zycht man mich*). Shuffling, lips locked, he wades through broken pottery; a weeping child at far right is unjustly thrashed for Niemand's misdeeds. So well established that he can figure in the calendar alongside simple weather prognostications (Snow, Rain, Wind, etc.) and rough astrological symbols, Niemand appears one with the rhythms of the earth and stars. He appears as a scapegoat for whom to blame in case of the prognostication's inaccuracy. But he also blends into the earthy world of the homespun saints' days and becomes a perennial, naturalized feature of the zodiac and the bodily humours, a force given identity and purpose only though cycles and forces exterior to him.

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prints, Rosenfeld H., "Bauernkalender und Wandkalender als Literarisches Phänomen des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur Bauernpraktik", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 38 (1963) 88–96.

III

In the sixteenth century, then, Everyman and Nobody become figures ever-changing within, and at times beyond legible social hierarchies. But both 'Elck' and 'Nemo' have names, of course, even if ones that are ironic personifications, identifying them as kinds of specialized fools or scapegoats. Self-naming, in fact, is a common part of the trope of nobody: even Jörg Schan's tight-lipped character from ca. 1507 announces himself as does, crucially, the striding figure on Froschauer's sheet.[20] The figures stumble onto the scene as did the *dramatis personae* that they derived from. In a later hand-colored sheet with Bohemian-language verses, published by Nuremberg's city painter Georg Pencz (which Franz Würtemberg saw as Bruegel's direct source for his Elck),[21] blank tablets appear flanking "Nevím" (I know not) upon which identity can be writ (Fig. 15.6).

What about these streaming banderoles within the *Nevim*?[22] Being anonymous is different from being a nobody. Customs and procedures of personal naming were in fact undergoing material changes in the sixteenth century, under the influence of increasingly sophisticated bookkeeping and surveillance techniques.[23] Among, say, peasants in most of feudal Europe, two (familiar) systems of naming thus coexisted—men or women bore a fore- or call name (*Rufname*), which existed largely as an oral phenomenon among comrades, and an official name, which generally was recorded by a lord's magistrate or a city court in writing, for legal proceedings, the collecting of taxes, the monitoring of dissidents and criminals.[24]

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20   Calmann, "Nobody" 65ff.

21   Würtemberg F., *Pieter Bruegel und die deutsche Kunst* (Wiesbaden: 1957) 8off.

22   Bolte J., "Zwei böhmische Flugblätter des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 18 (1896) 126–137.

23   Groebner V., *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 2007) 65–94, citing further (fascinating) examples.

24   For an overview of late medieval naming-practices, see Rolker C., "Patenschaft und Namengebung im späten Mittelalter", in Signori G. (ed.), *Konkurrierende Zughörigkeit(en)—Praktiken der Namengebung im europäischen Vergleich* (Konstanz: 2011) 19ff, and, more broadly, Mitterrauer M., *Ahnen und Heilige. Namengebung in der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich: 1993) 241–367.

The sixteenth century saw a renewed use of personal naming for surveillance and record keeping.[25] After about 1450, personal names were recorded with increasingly regularity, supplying a means of information, control, and legibility to rapidly expanding (and technologizing) bureaucracies. The first woodcuts of 'wanted' criminals appeared at this time. After the peasant revolts of the 1520s in the Lower Rhine, official name registers were kept in multiples and shared with authorities on an unprecedented scale.[26] From Kempten during the period 1524–6,[27] we have the grim example of an Abbot's prepared list of 173 names of peasant leaders to be executed.[28] Such lists drew their power from the (seemingly simple) assumption that there was a match between the written name and a particular soul, that there was a 'second' to the name—a person—that could be verified against another version. Official names, that is, made people 'legible'.

It is interesting, in this respect, how much the well-known images of peasants preceding Bruegel were about the application of names. Hans Sebald Beham's *Twelve Months* cycle of 1546–7 (B. 154–163) for example, offered a parade of peasant couples beneath majuscule labels such as 'Matthias February' and 'Simon October' (Fig. 15.7). Art historically, Beham's figures are traditionally slotted into the tradition of calendars and labours of the month illuminations.[29] Dancing, the peasants play roles: not quite personifications but soft stand-ins for the months. But the 'event' of Beham's famous series is not only dancing but also naming. The inscription is supplying a different kind of information than the image.

This is the tradition inherited from Beham's frieze-like *Kermis at Mögeldorf* woodcut (B. 86), printed from six blocks and published in two versions, around 1528 and 1534. This festival, we learn through letterpress verses, was peopled with characters like 'Leindel from Ganckhofen' who 'drank until he was blind drunk' or 'Eselmüller from Potestein' who 'hugs Gretal Mayer'. Commentary on

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25   Scott J. C. – Tehranian J. – Mathias J., "The Production of Legal Identities Proper to States: The Case of the Permanent Family Surname", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, 1 (2002) esp. 11–14.

26   Ibidem 4–44.

27   Groebner, *Who Are You?* 92.

28   Waas A., *Die Bauern im Kampf um Gerechigkeit 1300–1525* (Munich: 1964) 236–246.

29   Grathwohl M., "Das Bauernfest oder die Zwölf Monate (1546–1547) des Sebald Beham", in Mösendeder K. (ed.), *Zwischen Dürer und Raffael—Graphikserien Nürnberger Kleinmeister*. (Petersburg: 2010) 179–202. Grathwohl (181–186) cites the full literature on the series, noting Beham's use of an "antique" script type in the series (e.g., not *Fraktur*) as a means of imparting the rustics a 'humanist' air.

FIGURE 15.7   *Hans Beham, Detail* from The Twelve Months (*1546*). *Engraving, 4.9–5.1 × 7.2–7.3 cm* (*plate*). *London, British Museum.*

the woodcut has concentrated on the image's social contexts, which, depending on whom one reads, is by turns mirrored, or travestied, by Beham.[30] And while the names provide opportunities for punning and double entendre, they also supply a label enfolding the otherwise random protagonists into, again, a naturalized course of nature. Beham labels a peasant figure by linking him to a time (a month) or to various sites (Gankhofen, Potestein).

In print, that is, the peasant is pulled into the realm of pictorial legitimacy by a attachment to a sign: Dürer arguably invented the tradition when he ornamented his three peasant portraits of the 1510s with his trademark (Fig. 15.8), an inclusion aped by Beham and others. Without these marks—without the same kind of signature or stamp found in notarial documents—identity information remains free-floating: the lusty or grotesque individual remains just nobody.

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30   Stewart A., *Before Bruegel. Sebald Beham and the Origin of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot – Burlington: 2008) 56, and Gibson W., "Festive Peasants before Bruegel: Three Case Studies and Their Implications", *Simiolus* 31, 4 (2004–2005) 292–309.

Albrecht Dürer, Peasants at
Market *(1519). Engraving,
11.6 × 7.3 cm. New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

IV

The first namer, of course, was Adam. In Genesis II: 19, just before Eve was
created, Adam 'gave names to all the livestock, the birds in the sky and all the
wild animals'. For Luther, the passage portended nothing less than the birth of
language—at this strange moment *before* the Fall, names bore a material cor-
respondence with what they named, all were unified with God; after the fall
names were just a confusing profusion of exterior signs.[31] For Augustine, this
loss of transparency meant that postlapsarian man's 'sensibilities were multi-
plied'[32] and he had to labour to connect things and their description, that is,
had to labour for the knowledge lost. This meant that visual representations
of the Fall often coincided with the act of naming the animals; bodily senses

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31   Luther M., *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 58 vols. (Weimar: 1964)
      XLII 90.

32   Augustine, *De vera religione*, ed. K. D. Daur – J. Martin, Corpus Christianorum, Series
      Latina, vol. 32 (Turnhout: 1962) 21.41: 'Temporalium enim specierum multiformitas ab
      unitate dei hominem lapsum per carnales sensus diuerberauit et mutabili uarietate mul-
      tiplicauit eius affectum'. (212–213)

and the mind were now the only way that anything, including God, could be known. And this knowledge would always be imperfect.

Luther's commentary on the Adam passage was about loss; what naming spelled for the present-day apprehension of God. In Genesis, went Luther, Adam named all the animals as if divinely directed; by turns, then, all human knowledge after the Fall becomes *indirect* knowledge. The names we now give to things are but elements in a postlapsarian, moving world of inexact signs.[33] This ambivalence shaped Luther's views on baptism. In his *Small Catechism* of 1528 Luther summoned the Old Testament source of the nominal ambiguity that, in essence, was how the Bible, as a writing, itself began, from which the sacrament of Baptism drew its power: 'the old Adam in us should be drowned by daily sorrow and repentance … and, in turn, a new person daily come forth and rise from death again'.[34] We should understand, claimed Luther, that knowledge was arbitrary and existed only to be revisited. This Old Testament slant had very material result: after 1530 baptized infants in Protestant parts of Europe bore far more Old Testament names—and far fewer saints' names—than before; in Geneva in 1566, certain ministers even attempted to outlaw entirely saints' names at baptisms.[35] For the church, baptism had been a redemption of sins and a submission to authority. In Lutheran circles (at least in theory) baptism was the entry into a community, a gesture (and only a gesture) towards an impossible historical realm of prelapsarian order where names were *not* ambivalent. All this is to say that in the late Middle Ages, names were not an insight into a unique 'identity' but a reminder that, in a sinful world, *all* names symbolized disconnect between perfection and chaos.

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[33]   Jager E., *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: 1993) 301. See also Hamilton R., "Bruegel's Falling Figures", *Viator* 38, 1 (2007) 386–388.

[34]   The full passage reads, 'der alte Adam jnn uns durch tegliche rew und busse / sol erseufft werden und sterben mit allen sunden und boesen luesten / widderumb teglich eraus komen und aufferstehen / Ein newer mensch, der jnn gerechtigkeit und reinigkeit fuer Gott ewiglich lebe'. Luther, *Werke* XXX (Leipzig: 1963) 382–383.

[35]   Naphy, W. G., *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester – New York: 1994) 144–148. The late antique precedents for this change are detailed in Cramer, C. P., *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 1993) 40ff. And for a divergent trend, see Sargent, S. D., "Saints' Cults and Naming Practices in Bavaria, 1400–1600", *The Catholic HIstorical Review* 76, 4 (October 1990) 673–696.

V

But Bruegel's peasants are *not* named. And there is a reactive art-historical side to all of this, one deeply anxious about what is basically Bruegel's—and genre painting's—refusal to 'speak'. Consider Hans Sedlmayr in his *Habilitation* of 1934:

> In Bruegel's work, either faces are expressionless, like the peasants' dull, wooden faces, or the expressions are indeterminate and indifferent, like those of the children, expressions that are impossible to differentiate [*ununterscheidbar*] and seemingly empty. Everything that can bear expression is minimized, above all the eyes. The faces betray nothing of what goes on behind them; they are mute.[36]

Beneath Sedlmayr's thinking, of course, lay a misanthropic paranoia about twentieth-century cultural difference. Sedlmayr took an idea actually developed by Aby Warburg—the peasant as cipher for social estrangement—and darkened it to an elite viewpoint of his own present. Even in its blunting of Bruegel, Sedlmayr's famously hyperbolic text summons a curious thought: what might it mean to think about the depiction of the everyday, the development of genre, as a act of estrangement and regression, rather of expansion, demystification, enlightenment, and humanism? Warburg knew that late medieval depictions of peasants—often rendered in particularly luxurious media—bespoke a middle-class anxiety in post-medieval Europe about the changing ideas of work.[37]

And yet, even when examining the peasants as negative, is not such a reading still somehow redemptive? This issue was, of course, at the heart of the scholarly debates over Bruegel and peasants in the later 1970s and early 1980s, when the question of the pictures as advocates or enemies of the community became strangely controversial (indeed, Bruegel's peasants have danced,

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36   Sedlmayr H., "Die 'Macchia' Bruegels", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. 8 (1934) 144: 'Die Gesichter bei Bruegel sind entweder ausdruckslos wie die dumpfen, ausdrucksarmen Gesichter der Bauern oder von kaum zu bestimmendem indifferenten Ausdruck wie die der Kinder, die ununterscheidbar und leer erscheinen. Alle Träger des Ausdruckshaften—vor allem der Blick—sind reduziert. Die Gesichter verraten nichts von dem, was hinter ihnen vorgeht, sie sind stumm [...]'. For the sake of brevity I here omit a footnote which appears in the original passage (Sedlmayr's n. 15).

37   Warburg A., "Arbeitende Bauern auf burgundischen Teppichen", in Bing G. (ed.), *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: 1932; reprint ed., Nendeln/Lichtenstein: 1969) 223–229.

galloped, and puked their way through some of art history's nastiest interne-
cine fights).[38] Whether as benign satire or as negative self-fashioning, however,
both readings assumed a coherence to the peasant pictures' 'messaging' capac-
ity, their ability to point to other, contemporaneous texts. For all its compre-
hensiveness, both sides of the peasant/genre 'debate' understand—even in
the separate context of Beham's prints—the artworks as 'realist', as represen-
tations, reflections of manners or of conditions seemingly extant in the 16th
century.[39] There is a cynicism to this, a cynicism different from Sedlmayr's, in
its rejection of anything but representationalism as genre's defining condition.

Bruegel's *oeuvre*, meanwhile, is not about a purely *lived* site or thing, but
about the interval between the pictured and the social worlds. All rest on shift-
ing balances between proximity and distance. What Bruegel, and Beham, reli-
ably does with such figures might be to seize upon surfaces; what seems at
first like mere information refocuses as that information's *transmission* laid
bare. Forever dancing through the months of the year, running its course and
starting again like Beham's peasants, it is a theme's loping conveyance—rather
than what is conveyed—that emerges as the focus of the artwork.

<p style="text-align:center">∵</p>

For Theodor Vischer, genre painting was an obscurity, history a transcendence.
The latter was constellated by real, capitalized people. Genre, as Vischer went
on to claim (in a phrase repeated by Burckhardt and Brecht), was about the
unknown, doomed to be hidden in the 'obscurity' of the 'nameless'.[40] Genre,
in the end, perhaps makes us rethink art history as a process of giving names,
of abrogating ambiguity.[41] In print it was the anonymous peasant who, set in

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38   See, for example, the heated exchange between Hessel Miedema and Svetlana Alpers in
      Simiolus during the 1970s. Stewart, *Before Bruegel* 7ff, offers a noncommittal overview of
      the debate.

39   The better art-historical contextualization of Beham's peasant prints might lie not in
      Flemish proverbs but in the contemporaneous, frieze-like ornament designs that Beham
      was producing in Nuremberg in the 1540s, e.g. B. 224–227 from 1544, or, B. 231.

40   Vischer, *Ästhetik* III, 661. On the role of genre painting within Vischer's idea of "realism,"
      see Demetz P., "Defenses of Dutch Painting and the Theory of Realism", *Comparative
      Literature* 15 (1963) 97–115, esp. 104–6.

41   Cf. Crow T., "Chardin at the Edge of Belief", in Conisbee P. (ed.)*, French Genre Painting in
      the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: 2007) 91: 'What is it about scenes of contemporary
      human types in ordinary, everyday settings that defies their having a positive and exclu-
      sive descriptive term of their own?'

the space of an insignia or trademark, was paradoxically a double-figure and anything *but* a nobody—both an ethnographic specimen and the register of a single artistic personally—Lucas, Glockendon, Dürer. These presences lent the printed peasants authority. Bruegel's peasants, by contrast, are cleaved from such trademarks and inserted into the grand format of a history painting, never alone. Proverbial, indeed. But Bruegel, as much as he mines a humanist corpus, refuses to 'illustrate' some text, but to play out, facelessly, a set of communal—and very historical—experiences. Perhaps this is why Bruegel's peasants in particular have proven so resistant to stabilization by lexical codes, conventions, and, ultimately, names. His images register tradition but, monumentalizing anonymity, do not participate in the symbolic economy Vischer so admired in history painting. Names multiply and literally *die* (Fig. 15.1) within and amongst the various versions of the Icarus. Bruegel militantly does *not* 'tell'. *After* Bruegel, the vernacularization of tales of heroic death from Ovid or from Virgil would carry forth brilliantly. There was no one *before* Bruegel, however, who so vividly made anonymity a world.

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Morbid Fascination: Death by Bruegel

Larry Silver

mors ultima linea rerum
ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM/HORACE

• • •

. . . continual fear and danger of violent death;
and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.
THOMAS HOBBES, *Leviathan*

• • •

. . . 'I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.'
J.ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, QUOTING THE *Bhagavad Gita*

• • •

Yes, the dead fall upon the living . . .
The meatblood colors and the massed bodies, this is a census-taking of
awful ways to die.
DON DELILLO, *Underworld*

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Pieter Bruegel the Elder's large, undated painting, usually called *The Triumph of Death* (Madrid, Prado; Fig. 16.1) presents a vast panorama of a scorched world with a high horizon, against which a viewer can survey a swarming population of skeletal forces engaging in fierce combat against all stations of humanity.[1]

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1 Silver L., "Ungrateful Dead: Bruegel's *Triumph of Death* Re-Examined", in Areford D. S. – Rowe N. (eds.), *Excavating the Medieval Image* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2004) 267–278. There I attempt to dissociate the dating of this picture from its commonplace, but unexamined association with the two dated works in the manner of Bosch around 1562, *Dulle Griet* (Antwerp, Meyer van den Bergh Museum) and *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Brussels,

FIGURE 16.1   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Triumph of Death (*ca. 1566*). *Oil on panel, 117 × 162 cm.
Madrid, Prado.*

Most frequently, Bruegel's imagery here is compared to late medieval depic-
tions of the Dance of Death or related themes, such as the Three Living and
Three Dead, in which the living are paired, even confronted, one-on-one with
their skeletal avatars, often dressed in the same role-revealing garments.[2]
In relation to those earlier traditions, this essay will interrogate the role of
Death—personified multiply rather than as a single personification—in
the forms of Bruegel's skeletons, in order to consider how his active, hostile
anthropomorphism alters the medieval Christian concept of Death and dying.

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), the latter more correctly designated as *St. Michael Battling
the Dragon* (Apocalypse 12: 7–9). For the Prado painting, Sellink M., *Bruegel. The Complete
Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Ghent: 2007) 176–177, no. 115; the other two paintings of 1562
are 178–79, no. 116 (Antwerp) and 174–175, no. 114 (Brussels), respectively. See also Gibson W.,
Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Two Studies (Lawrence, KS: 1991) 53–86 ("Bruegel's *Triumph of Death*:
A Secular Apocalypse").

2   Gertsman E., *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages. Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout:
2010); also Clark J. C., *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow:
1950); Tenenti A., *La Vie et la mort à travers l'art du XVᵉ siècle* (Paris: 1952). Binski P., *Medieval
Death: Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: 1996), esp. 29–50, 123–163.

Numerous observers have noted how much Bruegel's foreground figures owe directly to the woodcut designs, *Pictures of Death*, by Hans Holbein the Younger, prepared around 1524/25 but not published until 1538 in Lyons.[3] Holbein inserts one collective image ("The Bones of All Mankind;" no. 5) where his crowd of skeletons makes loud ensemble music with Renaissance instruments—crumhorns, brass, and kettle-drums, but also a portable hurdy-gurdy. Even Bruegel's basic motif of soldiers fighting in vain against their macabre antagonists already appears in Holbein in three separate figures: a Knight (no. 31), a Count (no. 32), and a *Landsknecht* (Infantryman; no. 42), all armed with broadswords for the battlefield.[4] For the most part the professional soldiers in Bruegel's image appear in the right center foreground with their swords and lances; one, in a bright red jerkin, lies on the right center foreground.

Though Bruegel's figures lack the separate spatial settings of Holbein's individual woodcuts, many of the same figures reappear across the foreground of the *Triumph of Death*, with their own poses often echoed by a skeletal companion. Read from the left corner, the first figure, a king in armor with his own crown, mantle, gold chain, and scepter still lies prone and witnesses a skeleton, also in armor, absconding with his silver and gold coins while holding up an hourglass. Similarly, Holbein shows an enthroned Emperor (no. 7), surrounded by his retinue and bearing a sword with his regalia at his feet, but being crowned by a skeleton. Next Bruegel shows a cardinal in his distinctive red hat hanging limply in the arms of a companion skeleton wearing the same red hat. Holbein's cardinal (no. 9) is seated instead as he dispenses a document with many seals, probably an indulgence (against which Holbein would have objected), as his skeleton tugs at his hat. Closer to the intimacy of Bruegel's pair Holbein also shows a bishop in the midst of a flock of both sheep and peasants (no. 12) as well as an abbot being dragged by a skeleton (no. 15). He includes other members of the Church hierarchy: a canon in a doctor's biretta at the doorway of a church (no. 17), a parish priest with sacrament (no. 21), a preacher in his pulpit (no. 22), and a monk surprised by death (no. 23); in addition, spiritual women are represented by an abbess (no. 15) and a nun (no. 24). As should

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3   Published by Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel with accompanying biblical verses. Parshall P., "Hans Holbein's *Pictures of Death*", in Roskill M. – Hand J. O. (eds.), *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints and Reception* (Washington: 2001) 83–95; Müller C., *Hans Holbein d.J. Die Druckgraphik im Kupferstichkabinett Basel* (Basel: 1997) 144–149, 278–285, no. 105.

4   Silver L., "The Landsknecht: Summer Soldier and Sunshine Patriot", in: Clifford J. – Scattone L. M. (eds.), *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500–1825, from the Collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation* (Houston: 2009) 16–29; see also the skeletal figure on a pale warhorse on the battlefield by Stefano della Bella, ca. 1648 (ibidem 54–56, no. 2).

be apparent from this roster, Holbein's imagery varies by rank and by activity, with each scene discrete and contained in its own space; thus Holbein's sequence remains far more encompassing than Bruegel's scattered individuals in a common foreground. Yet in the very center foreground of Bruegel's painting appears a figure not in Holbein; there a skeleton, dressed in a hair shirt, cruelly slits the throat of a pious pilgrim, whose badge-covered hat now falls to the ground beside his pilgrim's staff. In contrast to Holbein's collection of individuals arranged by social rank, Bruegel here situates a person differentiated by spiritual pursuits.

At the right front corner of Bruegel's painting other figures of privilege meet their end, as a variety of skeletons disturb or parody their pleasurable pastimes. One masked skeleton in a rich yellow jacket livery of a servant empties two large cooling wine jugs and kicks over the games of cards and backgammon. Another bows sympathetic accompaniment on the gamba for a courting, fashionably dressed couple, already singing a duet with lute and sheet music in the right corner.[5] Above him another skeleton, dressed in fool's costume, offers a grisly platter of skull and bones to a distraught court lady, while behind them another skeleton embraces her fashionable mistress, who attempts to flee. At the bottom of the same table a well-dressed gentleman vainly strives to draw his sword and resist, while a cowardly fool in motley tries to hide beneath the same table.[6]

In his woodcut series, Holbein fully surveys gradations of rank and privilege as well as social behavior: empress (no. 10), queen (no. 11, with a fool bearing an hourglass), duke (no. 13), nobleman (no. 16), countess (no. 34), and duchess (no. 35). He also includes lower ranks of society, which in Bruegel's painting are largely obscured within crowds. Among Holbein's other classes and occupations: judge (no. 18), lawyer (no. 19), senator (no. 20), physician (no. 26), miser (no. 28), merchant (no. 29), sailor (no. 30), peddler (no. 37), and farmer at his plow (no. 38 with a skeleton running ahead to whip the team).

Thus Bruegel's isolated foreground characters in their costumes interact with death much like their precedents in Holbein's *Images of Death*, which loosely served as models, but were not copied closely. Moreover, another pair

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5   This motif of pleasure in a garden setting interrupted by Death is discussed by Pinson Y., *The Fools' Journey. A Myth of Obsession in Northern Renaissance Art* (Turnhout: 2008) 175–200 ("The Fool and Death—Unbidden Guests in a Garden of Love"), esp. 195–198 for the *Triumph of Death*.

6   Meadow M., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: 2002), esp. 154–156, has pointed to the dialectic between figures in Bruegel paintings, where he juxtaposes contrasting reactions to the same stimulus.

of female figures in the foreground, just above the cardinal, wear peasant costumes and carry the spindles and shears appropriate to home spinning. As Keith Moxey observed, however, those figures (though there are only two of them rather than the canonical three of classical myth) allude to the Fates, who spin, draw, and cut the threads of life of all mortals.[7]

In the traditional model of the Dance of Death, varied by Holbein, such personalized attention by an intimate skeletal partner remained fundamental to an individual's experience. Whether the cycle was laid out in Paris (Cemetery of Holy Innocents; woodcuts by Guyot Marchant, ca. 1490), Lübeck and Reval (Bernt Notke, ca. 1461), or Bern (Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, 1516–19), the Dance of Death series consisted of appropriately clad representatives of classes and professions, both sacred and secular, each accompanied by a skeletal partner but addressing the viewer and calling for repentance.[8]

Bruegel, however, makes an alteration by narrowing the roster of individuals across his foreground, chiefly confining himself to the upper classes, where greed and luxury predominate among the worldly desires that are so rudely interrupted by the intruding skeletons. In effect, he has called upon the attitudes presented by the negative images, the temptations, from the text and images of a late medieval volume, *The Art of Dying Well.* In that series of eleven illustrations a single man on his deathbed is visited by demons who beguile him with the various vices in succession, each of which is countered by angels and saints, eventually in the final image by Christ himself.[9] While concupiscence remains an ongoing theme of the unfolding deathbed drama—Avarice is the final temptation—human choice still remains its essential motivation. Yet the psychomachia around the deathbed of a lone man points out all the more how fully Bruegel differs from this *Ars moriendi* formulation, as he eliminates all supernatural elements of heavenly rescue while multiplying the universal condition of mortality.

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7 Daughters of Night: Clotho the spinner, Lachesis the arbiter of length, and Atropos, who cuts off the thread of life. Moxey K., "The Fates and Pieter Bruegel's Triumph of Death", *Oud Holland* 87, 1 (1973) 49–51.

8 Gertsman, *Dance of Death*, passim; on Manuel Deutsch, known from the copy by Albert Kauw (1649), see Zinsli, P., *Manuels Totentanz* (Bern: 1979).

9 Binski, *Medieval Death* 40–43; also Aries P., *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes toward Death over the Last One Thousand Years*, trans. H. Weaver (New York: 1982), esp. 107–112, 128–132; Delumeau J., *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. E. Nicholson (New York: 1990), esp. 35–85, "From Contempt for the World to the 'Danse Macabre.' " The author also wishes to thank Dr. Gregory Tentler for sharing his M.A. thesis, *'Ecce peccata tua—laico et littero simul': Visual Grammar in the Ars Moriendi* (M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania: 2002).

The Triumph of Death does include demons, which together with its overwhelmingly negative presentation of global devastation suggests the profound pessimism of Hieronymus Bosch's Hell scenes and Last Judgments (and has been used to date the picture around 1562, as noted above).[10] But Walter Gibson first noted that the Boschian demons of this Bruegel painting are actually confined to a small box-like structure in the geometrical center of the painting, noting its true insignificance, especially compared to Bosch's visions:

> The structure is oddly unsubstantial and the gestures of the devils curiously ineffectual, for they have no part in the torment of the living. It is as if even the forces of Hell could not compete with the armies of the dead.[11]

Gibson, however, still identifies this irruption onto earth as the mouth of Hell, which late medieval imagery, especially in manuscripts, depicted anthropomorphically as a giant open-mouthed head.[12] Bright fire spumes skyward from the little building, and around its base small demons, very Boschian in their mixed noxious character of insects and reptiles, poke their silhouetted heads around the corner. Another pair on top includes a small ape alongside a toad-like figure. Also reminiscent of Bosch is the closed doorway at the front of the building, whose basic shape resembles the open door of the castle of Hell in the center of the right wing of Bosch's Vienna *Last Judgment* altarpiece. Two holes above that closed door suggest eyes and further reinforce the look of a traditional medieval Mouth of Hell. Also atop the building is a cage, possibly a Cage of Fools.[13] Hanging from it a jug suggests intemperance and a flag with a knife, usually associated with Anger, appropriate to the violence of the overall image. Hovering above, Bosch-like ravens seek carrion.

On the dark wall below the spouting flame, a large convex mirror sits brightly to call the onlooker to self-knowledge, though in settings of Vice mirrors symbolize Pride. Mirrors frequently appear alongside fools to arouse their self-awareness.[14] Its circular shape is echoed by a set of wheels below. Indeed, Margaret Sullivan perceptively notes that the dark Hell-mouth actually is a

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10   Gibson W., *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: 1973) 44–99; *Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: 2006) 305–318, 322–339, 337–359.

11   Gibson, "Secular Apocalypse" 56.

12   For example, the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (ca. 1440); Dückers R. – Priem R., *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: 2009) 27, fig. 5; 356–357, no. 107.

13   Pinson, *The Fools' Journey* 113–14, noting an Erhard Schön woodcut from Nuremberg (fig. 93) of a *Cage of Fools in Flames*, presumably flames of lust rather than of Hell.

14   Pinson, *Fools' Journey* 9–25, traces this frequent motif.

FIGURE 16.2   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, engraved by Pieter van der Heyden*, Anger
(*1558*). *Engraving, 22.5 × 29.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Rosenwald
Collection, National Gallery of Art.*

mobile structure that rides on wheels like a pageant wagon.[15] Ultimately, just
behind the standard allegory of Death on a Pale Horse in the center of the
painting, this Hellmouth advances to the right on its wheels and drives the
mass of unwilling humanity into the giant box-trap at the right edge, where
they are swallowed up collectively.

Up against the dark cube stands a bear—the animal symbol of Anger that is
shown biting a victim's leg in Bruegel's 1557 design for an engraving [Fig. 16.2]
in the very Bosch-like Seven Deadly Sins.[16] Indeed, that earlier design not only
shows a virago, an armed and dangerous woman as the personification of
Anger, which has been rightly compared to the comic mock-armies of women
led by "Mad Meg" in Bruegel's 1562 *Dulle Griet*. But that Anger print also shows
some of the same kind of universal chaos and violent destruction within a

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15   Sullivan M. A., *Bruegel and the Creative Process, 1559–1563* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT:
2010) 163; on portable stages, Williams S. – Jacquot J., "Ommegangs anversois du temps
de Bruegel et van Heemskerck", in Jacquot J. (ed.), *Fêtes et ceremonies au temps de Charles
Quint*, Les Fêtes et cérémonies de Renaissance, II (Paris: 1960) 358–388.

16   Sellink, *Bruegel* 96, no. 46. The original drawing is in Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi
degli Uffizi.

devastated, flame-filled landscape setting as Bruegel would realize almost a decade later in his *Triumph of Death*.[17]

But the chariot itself deserves further attention, since with its wheels and demons it forms an anomalous insertion within the overall Bruegel image. Its patent artificiality—wheels, simulated Hell Mouth, but closed door with holes for eyes—undercuts its ultimate fearfulness. The attentive viewer will note not only its overall insignificance within the vast landscape but will also see it for a scare tactic with little real threat of damnation or spiritual potency to effect viewer repentance.[18]

At least one precedent anticipates imagery in conjunction with Hell: the Nuremberg Carnival parade, or Schembartlauf.[19] While it is not clear whether Bruegel knew this cultural element, in early sixteenth-century Nuremberg one main Carnival float that proceeded through the streets was designed as a Ships of Fools but known as "Hell" (*Hölle*). It was populated by costumed fools, but in the 1506 and 1539 events they transform into demons, and the entire Ship is burned as a rite of exorcism.[20] Though Bruegel likely had no known connection with Carnival in Nuremberg (though he clearly made use of Nuremberg print imagery),[21] he makes his own kind of carnival transformation of religious hellfire into a chariot on wheels and reduces it to a minor component of the *Triumph of Death*, a strategy that approximates Nuremberg's own refashioning.

This particular structure on wheels further reinforces the idea of allegory, not only within civic pageants but also particularly as a cart presentation, as designed by Maarten van Heemskerck during the same period as Bruegel. Both artists provided designs for engravings to the Antwerp publishing house, Aux Quatre Vents, of Hieronymus Cock.[22] Particularly striking in comparison to the

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17   On the connection to *Dulle Griet*, Sullivan M. A., "Madness and Folly: Peter Bruegel the Elder's 'Dulle Griet'", *Art Bulletin* 59, 1 (1977) 55–66.

18   Göttler C., *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform* (Turnhout: 2010). Her last chapter, 335–376, discusses similar manipulations of Boschian Hells with classical visitors by Jan Brueghel the Elder, whose paintings she calls 'poetic Hells'—'"fictions" and "fancies" forged by the imagination' (344).

19   Pinson, *Fools' Journey* 63–65, 165–68; Sumberg S., *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival* (New York: 1941).

20   Pinson, *Fools' Journey* 63–65, 165–168; Kinser S., "Presentations and Representations: Carnival at Nuremberg, 1450–1550", *Representations* 13 (1986) 1–41; Sumberg, *Schembart Carnival*.

21   Stewart A., *Before Bruegel. Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2008), esp. 298–302.

22   On Heemskerck allegories, Veldman I., *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam: 1977), esp. 133–141 on the 1564 cycle, *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs*. Also Kaulbach H.-M. – Schleier R., *'Der Welt Lauf'. Allegorische*

FIGURE 16.3   *Maarten van Heemskerck, engraved by Cornelis Cort* (*?*), Triumph of War, *from* Vicissitudes of Human Affairs (*1564*). *Engraving, 22.5 × 29.9 cm. London, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.*

Triumph of Death, van Heemskerck's *Vicissitudes of Human Affairs* (1564; nine engravings) includes a *Triumph of War* chariot (no. 5; Fig. 16.3) before it culminates in a *Last Judgment*. The inscription on the *Triumph of War* reads like a counterpoint to Bruegel's painting:

> War, seated on the car named Revenge, utters threats. The fierce horses Destruction and Devastation are driven by the whip of fury. The companions Famine, Blasphemy and Strife rush forward, and with a forbidding countenance and a harsh voice Cruelty brings along the captives in war.[23]

Graphikserien Des Manierismus (Stuttgart: 1997) 151–156, no. 40. On Cock, Grieken J. van – Luijten G. – Stock J. van der (eds.), *Hieronymus Cock. The Renaissance in Print* (Leuven – New Haven: 2013), esp. 197–241, on allegories by Bruegel and van Heemskerck. For Antwerp civic pageants with allegories, Williams – Jacquot, "Ommegangs anversois".

23   Veldman, ibidem 138 n. 5, with text and translation; van Grieken – Luijten – van der Stock, ibidem 204–209, no. 48, esp. no. 48.5. Ascribed to engraver Cornelis Cort, who departed for Italy in 1565.

FIGURE 16.4   *Maarten van Heemskerck, engraved by Philips Galle*, Triumph of Death, *from* Trionfi (*1565*). *Engraving, 19.4 × 26.7 cm. London, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.*

Moreover, in 1565 van Heemskerck also designed a set of the *Trionfi*, Petrarch's allegorical Triumphs, which include a float with the *Triumph of Death*, engraved by Philips Galle (Fig. 16.4).[24] An even more emphatic chariot, driven by skeletal Death with his harvest scythe, here runs roughshod over a teeming mass of humanity, including all ages (even mothers and children), while buildings burn in the background. Within the mass of victims one can discern the pope, a bishop, and a monk with his book falling beneath the two runaway oxen, while across the foreground symbols of worldly power, royal and imperial crowns, sit upon the ground amidst fallen soldiers. But across the bottom of the image the overwhelming image is the nameless crowd of victims. The Latin inscription conveys implacable cruelty, even closer to Bruegel's vision:

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24   Veldman I., *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck* (Haarlem: 1986) 58–66, esp. 62–63, no. 7, fig. 33; Kaulbach-Schleier, '*Der Welt Lauf*' 143–152, no. 39. Pinson Y., "Moralized Triumphal Chariots. Metamorphosis of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in Northern Art (ca. 1530–ca. 1560)", in Alexander-Skipnis I. (ed.), *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy* (*1400–1600*) (Turnhout: 2007) 203–223.

> Unyielding, bloody, rapacious and ineluctable,/ I mow with my scythe and triumphantly subdue everything that I encounter./ I demolish popes, sceptered kings and nameless masses/ I trample everything, driven by my impetuous steers.

Although a lone personification figure, van Heemskerck's Death achieves from his unyielding chariot all of the destruction by Bruegel's army of skeletons.

In the distance van Heemskerck invokes a religious Last Judgment scenario. At left a traditional open Hellmouth appears under an arched building spouting flames, but in the right background a crowd of resurrected souls gaze up above the sun to behold a heavenly vision in a radiant glowing corona, as a heavenly temple appears upon clouds above and behind the skeletal figure of Death. Thus, van Heemskerck like Bosch (in the Vienna *Last Judgment* altarpiece), but wholly unlike his contemporary Bruegel, reserves a space, however remote, for Christian grace and salvation, despite the dominant image of mortal destruction. The final print in the *Trionfi* series by van Heemskerck presents the *Triumph of Christ or Eternity* over all previous dominions.

Bruegel shows the same great scythe of Death in the hands of his main personification, Death on a Pale Horse, which precedes the black structure on its chariot at the center of his *Triumph of Death.* This figure, of course, echoes the description of Death among the celebrated Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Apocalypse 6:8), epitomized by Albrecht Dürer's celebrated woodcut illustration (published 1498), which also has an open Hellmouth behind the figure of Death, who carries a pitchfork as he rides on his skeletal pale horse.[25]

Thus far, especially in the foreground figures, we have noted the sudden loss of objects of desire, whether the sinful gold of avarice or the music, dishes, and sensuous delights of luxury. Even the pious pilgrim is interrupted in his spiritual quest (whether Bruegel shares Erasmus's cynicism about the value of pilgrimage remains moot).[26] But these lost excesses can be construed as follies, human failings that can readily slide from weakness into sinfulness and form commonplaces for sermons and folly literature. Yet even the foreground does not present a satire (as Margaret Sullivan repeatedly insists), except in

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25   Leahy C. – Spinks J. – Zika C. (eds.), *The Four Horsemen. Apocalypse, Death and Disaster* (Melbourne: 2012), esp. Eichberger D., "The Rider of the Pale Horse: Depicting Death" (14–29) and Silver L., "The Red Horse: Making War" (30–45).

26   See the colloquy, "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake" (1526), in *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. C. Thompson (Chicago: 1965) 285–312.

the sense that Folly literature, such as Sebastian Brant's 1494 *Ship of Fools*, castigates human shortcomings with a preacher's rhetoric.[27]

The presentation of the *Triumph of Death* before a high horizon also alludes to Bosch's *Haywain* triptych, where the central panel prominently features a variety of deceivers across its foreground, but then presents a panoply of worldly figures, both on horseback (if privileged) and on foot—all desperately fighting one another. Also derived from the *Haywain* of Bosch is the musical pair on the lower right corner of Bruegel's painting; they resemble the elegantly dressed, singing and strumming couple atop the massive hayrick. Walter Gibson and Margaret Sullivan observed another Bruegel quotation after Bosch in the thin, naked man who flees from a pair of attacking dogs—under the bridge in the right wing of the *Haywain* Hell scene and on the side of the background cliff at upper left in the *Triumph of Death.*

Bruegel's mass of figures in the large crowd are not as obviously derived from different classes and stations as his foreground representatives; however, within the group there still remains a range of origins. Beside the table we discern the Turkish turban of a fallen Muslim (just above the fool in motley who creeps under the table). Also a flat white oval seen from behind at the entry to the large box-trap at the right center is the distinctive hat of a gypsy woman, as depicted in Flemish art since the time of Robert Campin in the early fifteenth century.[28] Behind her a nude female flees, though the temptation by some scholars to identify her as Eve makes little sense within this crowd and without an accompanying, nearby Adam (surely not the naked man chased by dogs in a quite different place). Additionally, several black men appear within the group gathered into a net by skeletons below the central pond and the black

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27   On Brant and Bosch, never one to be minimized as a satirist, Vandenbroeck P., *Jheronimus Bosch tussen volksleven en stadscultuur* (Berchem: 1987) 22–34, with references. Still valuable on folly literature, Könneker B., *Wesen und Wandlung der Narrenidee im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Wiesbaden: 1966); Lefebvre J., *Fols et la Folie. Etude sur les genres du comique et la création littéraire en Allemagne pendant la Renaissance* (Pairs: 1968).

28   Pokorny E., "The Gypsies and their Impact on Fifteenth-Century Western European Iconography", in Anderson J. (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence; the Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art* (Melbourne: 2009) 623–627; Cuttler C., "Exotics in Fifteenth-Century Art: Comments on Oriental and Gypsy Costume", in Vanwijngaerden F. (ed.), *Liber amicorum Herman Liebaers* (Brussels: 1984) 419–434. Similar gypsies appear in the paintings of Bruegel's contemporary Cornelis van Dalem, e.g. his *Landscape with Gypsy Family* (Karlsruhe); Grossmann F., "Cornelis van Dalem Re-Examined", *Burlington Magazine* 96, 611 (1954) 42–51.

Hellmouth. That net itself has resonance with period imagery, as a parody on gathering fools of love in nets like birds through the lures of beautiful women.[29]

However, the remainder of the *Triumph of Death* stages the ultimate encounter much more violently as a battle of all against all. This annihilation of all walks of life simultaneously and creates a total physical devastation for which the viewer can find no alternative or outlet. Formally, Bruegel stages this conflict like the fierce—and, importantly—losing battle of the Israelites against their mortal enemies the Philistines (I Samuel 31) in his earlier painting, *Suicide of Saul* (1562; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Just past the relatively isolated figures in the foreground, chaos erupts, particularly in the conflict-ridden right side of the painting. Densely packed phalanxes of the skeletal army overrun all resistance, whether from professional soldiers with their weapons and armor, or from the humbler crowds of ordinary peasant types of both sexes. Although some skeletons loft scythes or hatchets, the majority brandish a peculiar, standard-issue weapon: oversized arrows used as spears. These moral darts resemble the kinds of instruments shown in late medieval prints to depict the punishments visited upon humankind from heaven in the form of plagues or other widespread calamities. A good example is a plague broadsheet of the Virgin of Mercy, who shelters humanity from such arrows under her protective mantle.[30] Yet unlike the cosmos of Bosch, Bruegel's landscape remains devoid of any heavenly agents, whether in protective intervention or in punishment. Without such protection, these arrow-spears wielded by the skeletons are irresistible to mortals; moreover, they are also used to coerce, to drive the fleeing crowd into the large trap, an enormous box marked with a cross, the blazon of Christian death—found throughout the painting on the many elements of death. For example, at the right edge of the panel a reserve regiment of skeletons stands holding their weapons in readiness behind large shields, made out of coffin lids marked with crosses. Another conventional church marker of death, the death-knell, is rung by a pair of skeletons atop a bluff in the painting's upper left corner.

29   Pinson, *Fools' Journey* 114–18.

30   Baxandall M., *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: 1980) 168, fig. 103; generally, Boekl C. M., *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology* (Kirksville, MO: 2000). For more general images of skeletal Death with an arrow suddenly attacking humankind, Vinken P. – Schlüter L., "Pieter Bruegels *Nestrover* en de mens die dood tegemoet treedt", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 55–79, figs. 17, 19, 22.

Their military discipline and organization as an infantry unit recall emerging modern standing armies of the sixteenth century, which developed new techniques of drill and coordinated conflict that defined early modern war tactics.[31] Related to this organization is the use of loud martial music in the battlefield to rally and direct troops. At the left of the painting, standing behind a red cross, a brass chorus of skeletons, clad in white burial shrouds, trumpets its clarion call. While the Book of Revelation (8–9) mentions seven trumpets of the Last Judgment, Bruegel's shows only a trio and none of the angelic trumpeters of the Apocalypse, though they also announce worldly devastation and the punishment of pagan idolators. Opposite the trumpets and bestriding the top of the enormous box-trap a lone skeleton bangs out a rumble on kettle drums. Instead of Apocalypse imagery, these skeletal musicians stem directly from Holbein's *Pictures of Death* (no. 5), though Holbein surely did use the book of Revelation and ended his cycle with a Last Judgment. It should also be noted that Ottoman military forces used both trumpets and kettle drums on the battlefield, as represented in prints, already by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (ca. 1490) and by Melchior Lorichs on site in Istanbul around the time of Bruegel.[32]

Bruegel also indulges in some self-quotation in the *Triumph of Death*. Near the naked man with dogs on the shore he places a giant fish surrounded by smaller fish. This image reprises his celebrated print (original drawing 1556; Vienna, Albertina), which Cock issued as an engraving, of the proverbial saying 'Big Fish Eat Little Fish'.[33] Perhaps more striking and grisly is Bruegel's adaptation of his own earlier image of *Justice* (1559; drawing in Brussels, Koninklijk Bibliotheek), designed for Cock's series of Seven Virtues in that year and engraved by Philips Galle (Fig. 16.5).[34] The instruments of torture that figure so prominently in the upper right of the *Triumph of Death* are already displayed there as forms of painful, worldly punishment in the enactment of *Justice*:

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31   Parker G., *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1988); Hale J. R., *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620* (London: 1985).

32   Filedt Kok J. P. (ed.), *Livelier than Life. The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master, ca. 1470–1500* (Amsterdam: 1985) 171, no. 74. For Lorichs, an ink drawing, *Dromedary with Tympanist* (Paris, Louvre), was realized as a woodcut for a planned *Turkish Publication*; Fischer E. – Rasmussen M. B. – Iuliano M. (eds.), *Melchior Lorck*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: 2009) I, 22, 41 (nos. 1561, 4; *Turkish Publication*, no. 49).

33   Sellink, *Bruegel* 88–89, nos. 42–43. The print is not signed with Bruegel's own name but rather the more familiar and marketable name of Bosch as 'inventor'. The same image appears in the water at right center of Bruegel's large compendium of *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559; Berlin, Staatliche Museen), Sellink, *Bruegel* 128–29, no. 76.

34   Sellink, *Bruegel* 141, 148; nos. 83, 90.

FIGURE 16.5   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Justice, *from* Seven Virtues *(ca. 1560).*
Engraving, 22.5 × 29.2 cm. Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection,
National Gallery of Art.

gallows, wheels, plus both beheading and drowning (Bruegel shows a man with
a heavy millstone attached to his neck tossed into the pond by the skeletons
with trumpets, while a bloated corpse floats on the nearby water surface).[35]

Even trees are seemingly punished amidst the total devastation by death: two
saplings are cruelly cut down by skeletons on the bluff at the upper left, balanc-
ing a beheading on the upper right at the corresponding high point.[36] Bruegel
shows further ironic wit by inserting coffins prominently into the image, all of

35   Merback M., *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel. Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in
      Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: 1998), esp. 126–197; Fosberry J. (ed.–trans.),
      Criminal Justice through the Ages: From Divine Judgment to Modern German Legislation
      (Rothenburg ob der Tauber: 1993) 131–145.

36   Two copies of the *Triumph of Death* by Pieter Bruegel the Younger subtly 'correct' this
      environmental harshness. The version in Cleveland (1626; Mildred Andrews Fund) shows
      a distant background forest, while in a copy on canvas by Jan Brueghel the Younger(?)
      (1597; Vaduz, Landesmuseum Joanneum) that copse shows a cluster of mature trees, but
      bare. Corcoran J. I. W., *The Triumph of Death by Pieter Brueghel the Younger* (Antwerp:
      1993) 17, plates 2, 3. For the original version by Jan Brueghel the Elder in Graz, Ertz K. –
      Nitze C. (eds.), *Breughel-Brueghel: Pieter Brueghel le jeune (1565–1637/8)—Brueghel
      l'ancien (1568–1625), une famille des peintres flamands vers 1600* (Lingen: 1998) 111–114, no. 14
      (for Cleveland, ibidem 106–110, no. 13). Due to the shift of tonalities between the Madrid

them being handled by skeletons. The most evident casket appears on rollers being pulled by hooded skeletons at the center foreground above the pilgrim. Moreover, ambiguity dominates these coffins; we can question whether they are being laid in the earth or exhumed. Indeed why bury anyone who is already dead at a time like this? In the center distance two other skeletons handle a coffin above a grave, whether filling or emptying it; meanwhile, another skeleton before them clearly steps out of its own grave. Just as inexplicable is the funeral cortege at top center, led by skeletons and moving towards a waterside chapel defended by a disciplined row of skeletons with arms upraised.

Another prominent example appears atop the building at left where the death knell tolls. These graveside skeleton stand upon a ruined building, with an arcade of two well fashioned pointed arches and a sculpted skeleton in between. Thus the structure resembles a temple of Death, fallen into disrepair; but its overall shape also suggests another mouth with the arcade as the open mouth and a staring eye above. To form the 'eye' of that giant visage a clock-like dial stands above the group of trumpeters. That clock, which once held a radiant sun at its center, now reveals a fearsome skeleton protruding from a hole at its core, whose arm extending ominously to point out the fateful hour at the bottom of the dial, amidst inscrutable characters.[37]

This survey of the vast, varied pictorial composition has revealed a range of death imagery. The foreground seems to offer a catalogue of human weaknesses and follies like Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, but with barbed sermonizing like Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* and considerable debts to the Dance of Death tradition and the *Pictures of Death* woodcuts by Hans Holbein. But the lower right quadrant presents a dense military conflict, where death's infantry forces advance from left to right and overwhelm the mass of humanity, overcoming even armed resistance to herd a huge crowd into a box-trap, whose

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painting and its copies by Brueghel's sons, Klaus Ertz and other scholars assume that the generally close but not exact copies were done from an uncolored graphic replica.

37   The characters around the dial defy reading, except for the "1" that is pointed to by the skeletal finger. They suggest the unintelligible mystery of this catastrophic event. They were altered in the copies by Bruegel's sons to more conventional clock numerals; Corcoran, *Triumph of Death by Pieter Bruegel the Younger* 17. All other characters look like astrological or occult symbols, but they might well also be pseudo-Hebraic; cf. Grünewald's expressly Hebraic Old Testament characters on a chamberpot of the *Madonna and Child* panel of the *Isenheim Altarpiece*; Mellinkoff R., *The Devil at Isenheim: Reflections of Popular Belief in Grünewald's Altarpiece* (Berkeley: 1988) 61–67. For a later instance, Neer R., "Poussin's Useless Treasures", in Kessler H. – Nirenberg D. (eds.), *Judaism and Christian Art* (Philadelphia: 2011) 328–358.

cross reveals it as a collective coffin. The left quadrant is largely emptied out, populated only by skeletons, notably two cart drivers, one with hurdy-gurdy and the other with an unlit lantern, who use their own pale horse, a nag, to haul a load of skulls, like the carcass residue of a charnel house. That cart, in turn, tramples the weaver figure with shears and runs over a small cluster of peasants—as if in an understated reaction to van Heemskerck's traditional oxen and chariot in his allegorical *Triumph of Death* engraving. The rest of this quadrant consists of the skeletal trumpeters before their ruined building and central pond.

The entire picture pivots around the central black cubic Hellmouth chariot with flames and demons, even as they seem to produce no serious effect on their surroundings. Hell, therefore, instead of serving as the instrument of fear and horror, to inspire repentence, as in all the late medieval images and sermons about Death, becomes a comic, toothless entertainment for the viewer and a dark, but minor object in the painting's center. Above that dark focus, tiny armies of skeletons mop up their mortal quarry across the center distance against futile human resistance with makeshift peasant weapons. The upper right, dominated by the instruments of execution, remains largely empty, as does the upper left, with the death knell, coffin burial, and tree-cutting. The top center chapel is fully controlled by skeletal forces. Across the horizon burning ships provide no safe haven; fires rise both from those barks and along the entire coastline, leaving a trail of dark smoke across the sky at the top of the painting.

Bruegel's novel synthesis of his varied source imagery provides a fully new kind of embodiment for Death. Clearly the apocalyptic disasters of the Book of Revelation are echoed in this panorama of devastation. Yet Gibson is correct in calling this a 'secular' apocalypse, since no angels or other heavenly figures intervene, nor there is any allusion either to biblical endtime or to questions of an afterlife. The sheer density and power of these myriad skeletons obliterate any hope and provide only despair at the universal end of humankind. Although in the foreground, the skeletal figures give personal attention to, and even mirror the behavior of their victims, their very violence elsewhere fully undermines the simpler penitential message of the Dance of Death or the late medieval monastic tradition of the *contemptus mundi*. Indeed this universal carnage and devastation of population suggests unrelieved pessimism, or despair, like a response to plague, whose arrow shafts we have already seen Bruegel transferring from traditional plague or death imagery. Here death even defies nature, as skeletons attack sapling growths, and animal carcasses litter the central hillside behind the Hellmouth. This image can only inspire fear and personal inadequacy, but not in terms of an afterlife with the threat of Hell;

instead, the viewer cowers before the forces of death—inevitable, universal, but now suddenly present and all-powerful in prospect.

Walter Gibson points to the image's kinship with the theme of the Three Living and the Three Dead, where three well dressed aristocrats on horseback are interrupted by their skeletal counterparts, who warn them that their future will inevitably end in that condition and urge them to repent.[38] Bruegel certainly does not limit his victims to that one class, especially an elite, and he repeatedly emphasizes the violence of the confrontation. His stress on the physical attack by skeletons is not unique; indeed, as Gibson points out, Bruegel's associate from his early interlude in Rome, the Croatian miniaturist Giulio Clovio, twice presented the Three Living and Three Dead as an all-out ambush with spears, one already anticipated in Flemish miniatures by Simon Bening, a noted influence on Bruegel.[39] But the universal melee of the *Triumph of Death* is magnified by its sheer scope—seemingly endless arrays of skeletons attacking masses of humans across a vast expanse. Ultimately, Death is no longer a personification at all, but rather a collection of no-things, not only the embodiment of nihilism but also the reversal of anthropomorphism.

The closest comparable images from the sixteenth century stem from the German-speaking world. One category especially features the sudden plucking of youthful beauty by Death in the image pair of Death and the Maiden, particularly by Hans Baldung.[40] Similar violent version of the Three Living and the Three Dead—still as knights on horseback—appear in a drawings. One, dated 1497, is often ascribed to Dürer (W. 162; Vienna, Albertina).[41] It is one of several related images of Death, which warn of sudden attack on the young and living, for example a Dürer drawing of a lone mounted knight attacked by death (W. 161; ca. 1496; Frankfurt, Städel). Among his marginal drawings for Emperor

38   Gibson, "Secular Apocalypse" 67–71, figs. 63–68; Delumeau, *Sin and Fear* 66–72.

39   Bening almost certainly inspired some of the imagery of Bruegel's *Months* (1565); Kren T. – McKendrick S. (eds.), *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: 2003) 447–451, 467–470, 474–478, 483–485, nos. 140, 150, 154–55, 159–60.

40   Wirth J., *La jeune fille et la mort. Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la Renaissance* (Geneva: 1979); Koerner J. L., *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 1993) 249–316 ("Death as Hermeneutic"); Brinkmann B., "Sündenfälle ohne Erlösung: Die unentrinnbare Einheit von Liebe, Sünde und Tod" in Brinkmann B. (ed.), *Hexenlust und Sündenfall. Die seltsamen Phantasien des Hans Baldung Grien* (Frankfurt: 2007) 164–174.

41   Theissing H., *Dürers Ritter, Tod und Teufel. Sinnbold u. Bildsinn* (Berlin: 1978) 72–84, figs. 22–25. For the theme Delumeau, *Sin and Fear* 66–72; Rotzler W., *Die Begegnung der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten* (Winterthur: 1961).

Maximilian's Prayerbook (ca. 1515; Munich, Staatsbibliotheek, fo. 37v), Dürer also penned a scythe-bearing figure of Death pursuing an armed knightly warrior on horseback, who anxiously looks back as a flying demon hovers above. A 1510 Dürer woodcut presents a more traditional *memento mori* like the Dance of Death, featuring a young soldier of the infantry (*Landsknecht*) who suddenly confronts a skeletal Death one-on-one in a cemetery; their dialogue appears in accompanying verses by the artist, headed with the line: 'Nothing can prevent a timely [*zeytling*] death; therefore serve God from dawn to dusk'.[42] But that quiet presentation of a dialogue only serves to underscore the brutal physicality and utter finality of Bruegel's *Triumph of Death*. In contrast to the Christian message of salvation—O Death, where is your victory? O Death, where is your sting? (I Corinthians 15: 55)—Bruegel's Death, truly a Grim Reaper but now enacted through the forms of an enormous skeletal army of clones, does triumph, cruelly, implacably, and inexorably. With only a comic, carnivalesque Hell on view, the afterlife has no remaining role in this cosmos.

Death reappears in one posthumous print, produced after a Bruegel design: *The Triumph of Time*, engraved and published in Antwerp in 1574 by Philips Galle (who also had engraved the Heemskerck *Trionfi* prints around 1565; Fig. 16.6).[43] Once more the theme is allegorical, conveyed through figures on a chariot, using the idiom of Maarten van Heemskerck and Petrarch's *Trionfi*, discussed above. This image shows a central, horrific figure of Chronos (Time) or Saturn, perched upon an hourglass as he devours his own children before a zodiacal globe.[44] He stands upon the Chariot of Time, built upon dry, dead branches. Its differentiated wheels crush attributes of worldly accomplishment

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42   Silver, "Landsknecht" 19–20, fig. 5; Schoch, R. – Mende M. – Scherbaum A. (eds.), *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols. (Munich: 2002) II, 162–164, no. 149.

43   Sellink, *Bruegel* 267, no. 175; Pinson, "Triumphal Chariots" 214–16; Müller J., *Das Paradox als Bildform. Studien zur Ikonologie Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.* (Munich: 1999) 172–178; Kaschek B., *Weltzeit und Endzeit. Die "Monatsbilder" Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.* (Munich: 2012) 98–101. The Latin verses read: 'The horses of Sun and Moon draw Time, which, borne by the Four Seasons in their annual voyage through the twelve constellations of the Zodiac, brings forth all things. All that Time cannot grasp is left for Death. Immortal Fame astride an elephant follows in their wake, filling the world with her clarion call'. Unlike many Bruegel prints, no preliminary drawing design survives.

44   For the association of Time with Death, Panofsky E., *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: 1939) 69–93. The theme of Truth Revealed by Time is discussed by Saxl F., "*Veritas Filia Temporis*", in Klibansky R. – Paton H. J. (eds.), *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford: 1936) 197–222; Wittkower R., "Chance, Time and Virtue", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1, 4 (1938) 313–321.

FIGURE 16.6   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, engraved by Philips Galle*, Triumph of Time
(*1574*). *Engraving, 21.2 × 30.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Rosenwald
Collection, National Gallery of Art.*

and rank: books and inkwells, musical instruments and (even) an artist's pal-
ette, spades and tools, crowns and cardinals' hats, soldier's helmet and bour-
geois top hat, goblets and moneybags. Behind this carriage follows Death, a
skeleton carrying a scythe and riding on his pale horse. But behind Death, per
Petrarch, comes the trumpet-blaring, winged allegory of Fame on an elephant.[45]
Time appears in the top center upon a tree in the form of a clock (as well as the
traditional hourglass).

    Yet here too, death and destruction dominate the landscape background.
At right, behind the lead horses, whose yoke shows the sun and moon before
the zodiac, stands a prosperous Flemish village, where merrymakers enjoy
a festival celebration around a maypole. But as the chariot progresses from
left to right, the scene behind it, above the figure of Death, shows nothing
but destruction: a burning waterside town, where ships are sinking like the
background of the Madrid painting. The green trees of the village now lie bare,
just as the central tree with its clock passes from leafy boughs to dry branches.
So even if Fame preserves the memory of great deeds, wealth, or artistry, the

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45   Pinson, "Triumphal Chariots" 216, notes that in Petrarch's *Trionfi* Fame's chariot is pulled
       by elephants, but in that canonical text Fame precedes Death.

FIGURE 16.7   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Calumny of Apelles (*ca. 1565*). *Ink drawing, 20.3 × 30.6 cm. London, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.*

activities of ordinary life, such as cyclical rounds of peasant existence, are doomed to destruction, over Time and by Death.

To concentrate on the issue of this volume, we see Bruegel representing Death here as an ominous threat, represented more traditionally as a solo personification, still wreaking collective wanton and willful destruction, but unlike the skeletons in the *Triumph of Death*. All these Bruegel allegories in the *Triumph of Time* have agency, but though anthropomorphic, they do not truly interact as performers with each other or directly with their settings. In similar fashion, Bruegel's lone classical allegory, *The Calumny of Apelles* (ca. 1565; London, British Museum; Fig. 16.7), does show vicious, interactive behavior by a set of personifications derived from a classical *ekphrasis*, or description of an ancient painting. In this case the original work is ascribed to Apelles, court painter of Alexander the Great (late 4th century BCE).[46] The subject was

46   Orenstein N. (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (New York: 2001) 234–236, no. 104; the work is inscribed by a later hand with a plausible signature and date of 1565, probably copied from a lost section of the original. Ramakers B. A. M., "Bruegel en de Rederijkers", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 81–94. For the subject, Cast D., *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in Humanist Tradition* (New Haven: 1981); Massing J.-M., *Du Text à l'image. La Calomnie d'Apelle et son iconographie* (Strasbourg: 1990). The author

recorded by Greek satirist Lucian and revived in Latin translation by Philipp
Melanchthon (Frankfurt, 1543); it also was praised as a subject in Alberti's *De
Pictura* (1435), thereafter to be painted or drawn by Botticelli (Florence, Uffizi),
Mantegna, and Dürer, among numerous others. The original Greek image pro-
vided a non-verbal riposte with labeled personifications to charges of conspir-
acy against the painter Apelles.

Descriptions place the seated prince Ptolomeus at the right of the image,
advised by two females, Ignorantia and Suspicio, dressed in elegant court
gowns. Lyvor (Envy), a scruffy male, stands before the prince and points to him
while gesturing for silence with a finger to his lips. The real energy of the scene
is enacted by Calumnia, bearing a torch in one hand and pulling a whimpering
child with the other. She looks like a Fury but also echoes Bruegel's figure of
"Mad Meg" (*Dulle Griet*; 1561).[47] She is trailed by another pair of women: Insidia
(Guile), who enumerates false claims on her fingers; and Fallacia (Deceit), who
gestures with both hands. Their gestures clearly indicate a rhetoric of speech
to the king. Behind this advancing crowd a subdued, modest, mourning female
figure stands away at the left edge; she is *Pœnitencia*, Repentence, and she
looks down in response to a final female, naked Truth, who crouches at the far
left, but can only be revealed to the king after all the loud, distracting harridans
in between have subsided. That rare female figure closely echoes the nude in
the *Triumph of Death* (and thus might help date the painting close to 1565), but
in any case she indicates sophisticated awareness by Bruegel, both of ancient
traditions depicting Truth as a nude woman and as someone alert to the impli-
cations of figurative allegory.

In this work, Bruegel seems to represent the male figure of Envy as a
painter, like the artist figure in his drawing *Painter and Client* (ca. 1565; Vienna,
Albertina), but also like the luckless dupe in his earlier print design, *The
Alchemist* (1558; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).[48] Thus the artist might be claim-
ing that he too is a victim of envy, calumny, and deceit, quite possibly because
of the well documented 'invective' verses (Ghent, 1565) by rival painter and

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is indebted to Stephanie Porras of Tulane University for stimulating ongoing exchanges
about this work.

47   Compare Rubens's depiction of the Fury Alecto with her brown withered skin and flam-
ing torch in his *Horrors of War* (1637; Florence, Pitti Palace), though with snakes in her
hair. The comparison to Bruegel's *Dulle Griet* was made by Ramakers, "Bruegel en de
rederijkers" 90–94, albeit for the figure of Lyvor rather than Calumnia; and connected
with Envy and ambition, albeit by classical authors by Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative
Process* 110–116.

48   Orenstein, *Drawings and Prints* 228–230, no. 100; 170–172, no. 60–61.

poet Lucas de Heere, which charge a 'certain' painter with inadequacies, such as painting 'kermis dolls' and scoffing at truly beautiful images, 'Romish' and 'antique' in manner.[49] We need not seek this proximate cause to infer that in the volatile and competitive Antwerp art market Bruegel might well have felt aggrieved or misunderstood, so that the *Calumny of Apelles* would have posed a learned, if not strictly classicizing response in the visual language of allegory. What does strike a viewer is how much these personification figures actively work in concert and create a narrative scenario rather than standing passively immobile.

Also certain is that Bruegel's own sense of competition or personal participation in ongoing artistic dialogue would have intensified around 1565, when several other versions of the subject appeared. The first of these, another print, was produced by someone who had already worked for Hieronymus Cock as an engraver, just before Bruegel began to design for that same print publishing firm. That *Calumny of Apelles*, by Giorgio Ghisi, then living in Paris after his stay in Antwerp (1550–55), dates to 1560 and was engraved after a design by Raphael follower Luca Penni.[50] Its undeniable Roman pedigree and French court status (the print comes with a royal privilege) for the Calumny allegory was further emulated in a more local Flemish artistic competition by arch-Romanist Lambert Lombard of Liège (d. 1566), who produced an ink drawing in classicizing costumes (Florence, Uffizi) roughly contemporary with Bruegel's.[51] That the subject itself engages a historic rivalry between painters makes it the perfect vehicle for asserting one's individual artistic approach to personification. In the case of Bruegel, relatively ordinary costume distinguishes his version from those assertively 'antique' versions by his contemporaries.

Earlier in his career Bruegel had already activated another personification figure in his print design for *Elck*, Everyman (1558; drawing design, London,

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49   Meadow M., "Bruegel's *Procession to Calvary*, Aemulatio and the Space of Vernacular Style", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 181–205; Freedberg D., "Allusion and Topicality in the Work of Pieter Bruegel: The Implications of a Forgotten Polemic", in Freedberg D. (ed.), *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Tokyo: 1989) 53–65. On the role of the *Calumny of Apelles* in this artistic debate, Kaschek B., "Weder römisch, noch antik: Pieter Bruegels *Calumnia des Apelles* in neuer Deutung", in Kamecke G. – Klein B. – Müller J. (eds.), *Antike als Konzept. Lesarten in Kunst, Literatur und Politik* (Berlin: 2009) 167–179.

50   Boorsch S. – Lewis M. – Lewis R. E., *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* (New York: 1985) 110–113, no. 27.

51   Wouk E., "Reclaiming the Antiquites of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the History of Northern Art", *Simiolus* 36, 1/2 (2012) 40–44.

FIGURE 16.8   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, engraved by Pieter van der Heyden*, Everyman
                        (*ca. 1558*). *Engraving, 23.2 × 30 cm. Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection,
                        National Gallery of Art.*

British Museum; Fig. 16.8).[52] Here an eponymous figure, old, bearded, and
bespectacled (so not very perceptive, literally), hunts with a lighted candle
during daylight—the very image of a fool—in a futile, ongoing search for
happiness. Multiplied into a small group of identical figures, like the skeletal
clones, he can be seen in a variety of activities. First he rummages across the
foreground through a variety of bales and barrels in a fruitless quest for mate-
rial gain as a source of happiness. But he also wanders amidst various tokens of
vanity and wastefulness: a hand mirror, dice, playing cards and game boards. In
the top left corner of the print he even pauses in a tug-of-war against himself,
as another, identical figure. In the distant background he reappears, seeking
out, in turn, both an army encampment and a parish church, yet evidently with
no greater satisfaction. By equating the military with the spiritual, Bruegel

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52   Orenstein, *Drawings and Prints* 166–170, no. 58–59; Müller, *Paradox als Bildform* 56–76;
        Rothstein B., "The Problem with Looking at Pieter Bruegel's *Elck*", *Art History* 26, 2 (2003)
        143–173. See also the essay by Christopher Heuer in this volume.

already depreciates church-going and characterizes it as an earthly behavior rather than as a source of comfort or a pathway to salvation.[53]

The only other character in this image is another personification, but he appears only in an image-within-the-image: a central picture on the wall above all this activity. That picture shows the second figure dressed as a jester, sitting on a stool—in the midst of similar chaos of overturned goods—and gazing at himself with a hand-mirror like the traditional personification of Prudence, self-knowledge. He, however, is clearly labeled as Nemo, 'No-man'. The Dutch explanation for this paradoxical Nobody is inscribed as the phrase 'no man knows himself'. Of course, the figure of No-man does know himself and views himself clearly in that hand-mirror; but at the same time, nobody truly knows himself. Overall, then, this early Bruegel print of *Everyman* presents a blunt criticism of materialism in the busy commercial port of Antwerp. Yet we note further that the print uses another personification by Bruegel to perform repeated actions and convey a final message of worldly futility—even the background church (like the distant chapel in Bruegel's *Triumph of Death*) offers no ultimate comfort.

Bruegel designed another allegorical conflict that stands close to the *Triumph of Death* skeletons. Also undated and posthumous (i.e. after Bruegel's death in 1569 and Cock's death in 1570), this print (engraved by Pieter van der Heyden; Fig. 16.9), *The Battle about Money*, pits strongboxes against piggy-banks in an all-out melee up to the very horizon.[54] Like the Madrid painting, this print also presents intense martial conflict and crowding up to the very top of the image, but this time clearly with satirical intent and a basic critique of materialism as its message. Here neither side of the conflict is human, so the viewer cannot feel threatened in the same way, but the dense combat suggests an entire universe of avarice akin to the dominion of death in the Madrid. The accompanying text proclaims in Latin, Dutch, and French: '[...] It's all for

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53   This interpretation has been given to Bruegel's design for *Faith* in his Seven Virtues series by several scholars who see an ironic tone to the series and to the sacraments and congregation in that particular drawing/print. For example, David Freedberg, *Prints of Pieter Bruegel* 19, observes that 'the bulk of the congregation turn their backs on Faith herself in order to listen to a monkish preacher, while other members of the congregation count money or pick pockets'.

54   Orenstein, *Drawings and Prints* 253–254, no. 115; content discussed by Kavaler E. M., "Pictorial Satire, Ironic Inversion, and Ideological Conflict: Bruegel's *Battle between the Piggy Banks and Strong Boxes*", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 155–179. Sellink, *Bruegel* 265, no. 173, suggests plausibly that the drawing design is close to his other engraved works from Cock's house of around 1562–63.

money and goods, this fighting and quarreling'. But the printed image remains
clearly comic, a social disorder that Kavaler characterizes as 'mock-heroic'.

Bruegel's last dated allegory, *The Misanthrope* (1568; Naples, Capodimonte
Museum; on canvas; Fig. 16.10) again shows social conflict, but now reduced to
the form of a trio of figures, all placed within a circular tondo frame that sug-
gests global significance.[55] A darkly garbed monkish figure, the Misanthrope,
strides forward with his hands clasped towards a forest hermitage; he speaks
the Dutch caption at the bottom of the image, 'Because the world is so untrue/
Therefore I go off filled with rue'. But he is a pious hypocrite, who carries a
coin-purse (in the shape of a red heart!) under his robes, despite his self-
presentation as an ascetic. Due to his inattention he also is about to step
on man-traps, tacks in his path. But more importantly he is being robbed
by a stooped figure in rags, who inhabits a glass world globe of his own.[56]
That second, thieving figure embodies the poverty and hardship of the world.

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55   Sellink, *Bruegel* 250–251, no. 164; Gibson W., *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in
Renaissance Netherlands* (Berkeley: 2010) 86–88, discussing the Jan Wierix roundel
engraving of the *Misanthrope*.

56   A similar figure, ragged and stooped in his globe, appears in Bruegel's 1559 *Netherlandish
Proverbs* (Berlin), as noted by Meadow, *Netherlandish Proverbs* 41, fig. 12, embodying the
proverb, 'you must bend to make your way through the world'.
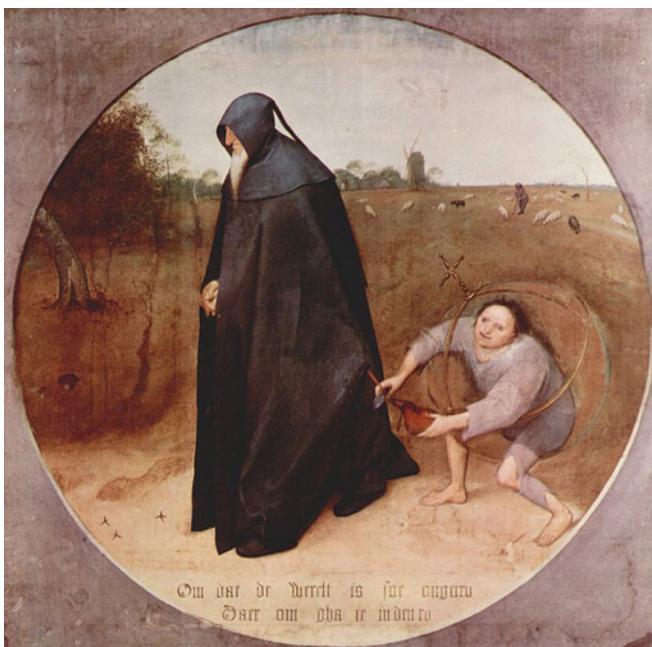
FIGURE 16.10   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, The Misanthrope (*1568*).
*Distemper on canvas, 86 × 85 cm. Naples, Capodimonte
Museum.*

Together they act out a scenario of a deceiver deceived. But the entire scene
unfolds before a fertile plain expanse, where a lone, anonymous shepherd
tends his flock before a windmill. Even this pastoral idyll, however, may poten-
tially be interrupted by conflict—a distant fire is evident at the right horizon.[57]
A posthumous roundel engraving of the *Misanthrope* composition by pro-
fessional printmaker Jan Wierix includes even more disturbing background
details: an attack on a wagon in the open countryside and a gallows and wheel
at the horizon. The text of that work expands the declaration of the lead char-
acter and makes more general pronouncements, consonant with *Everyman* as
well as the *Battle about Money*: 'Most people employ the least right and rea-
son, few live now as they should live. People rob, men grab, everyone is full
of feigned morals'.[58] Harsh conditions impose thievery and violence even on
those who would withdraw from the world, yet no one truly holds a moral high
ground.

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57   See the essay by Christopher Heuer elsewhere in this volume.
58   Gibson, *Figures of Speech* 86.

Bart Ramakers has reminded us how much the distillation of concepts into embodiments as personifications informs Bruegel's contemporary Dutch drama.[59] He notes, following J. J. Mak and others, how the background of Bruegel's design of *Temperancia* (1559; Rotterdam, Boijmans-van Beuningen) includes two such performers, well-dressed characters with labels, plus a fool with his *marot*.[60] And he also reinforces the degree to which such personifications interact on the stage to enact moral lessons, much as we have noted for Bruegel figures, not only for the *Calumny* drawing but also for the *Misanthrope*.

While the *Misanthrope* does not depict a universal catastrophe and strictly limits its personifications to two (plus a representative peasant),[61] it nevertheless still shows those figures interacting as representatives of social strife and false values. As with the *Triumph of Death*, they convey evident class distinctions; as with *Everyman*, they still fail to find any spiritual comfort, although in Bruegel's later images, the existence of the background peasant assumes a greater tranquility in natural, seasonal activities, by way of contrast, even if an unsettled political world of strife threatens to invade that seemingly peaceful countryside. Bruegel often mixes moral instruction and social satire into his imagery, including the *Battle about Money*, where no humans even appear at all.

But only in the *Triumph of Death* are no escapes permitted, no alternatives proposed in a world without pity, let alone humor or lasting life lessons. Death certainly has human powers to act, but unlike any other representation by Bruegel, these myriad skeletons—rather than a single figure, as in late medieval Dutch morality plays, such as *Everyman*—do *not* lead humans to moral lessons—only to sudden and complete annihilation. The scorched earth and its myriad small figures encompass an entire world, just as fully as in Bruegel's earlier printed scenes of peasant festivity or his painted compendia of *Children's Games* (1560; Vienna), *Carnival and Lent* (1559; Vienna), or

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59   Ramakers, "Bruegel en de rederijkers"; see also Hummelen W. M. H., "Toneel op de Kermis, van Bruegel tot Bredero", *Oud Holland* 103, 1 (1989) 1–45; also Hummelen W. M. H., *Sinnekens in het rederijkersdrama* (Groningen: 1958).

60   Orenstein, *Drawings and Prints* 190–191, nos. 76–77. In the Rotterdam drawing the man's label only is legible, 'Hope'. Gibson W., "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel", *Art Bulletin* 63, 3 (1981) 426–446, esp. figs. 1–2; Mak J. J., "De wachter in het rederijkersdrama, naar aanleiding van de Toneelvertoning op Bruegels Temperantia", *Oud Holland* 66, 1 (1949) 162–174.

61   Bruegel's allegory of the three medieval orders, including an idling peasant, is his 1567 "Lazy-Luscious Land" (*Luilekkerland*; Munich, Alte Pinakothek); Veldman I., "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints", *Simiolus* 21, 4 (1992) 227–264, discusses the virtues of the laboring peasant within the Three Orders.

ANIMVM VINCERE, IRACVNDIAM COHIBERE CAETERAQ, VITIA ET AFFECTVS
COHIBERE VERA FORTITVDO EST·

FIGURE 16.11   *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, engraved by Philips Galle*, Fortitude.
*Engraving, 22.7 × 29.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection,
National Gallery of Art.*

Netherlandish Proverbs (1559; Berlin).[62] But unlike those festive or instructive
comic/foolish celebrations, this later prospect offers only unrelieved loss.

The tone and character of the *Triumph of Death* emerges most clearly by
comparing it finally to another, earlier Bruegel design, another universal bat-
tle: his drawing (1559; Rotterdam, Boijmans-van Beuningen Museum; Fig. 16.11)
for a Cock print by Galle, *Fortitudo*.[63] Here the winged allegory stands upon
a leashed dragon in the center foreground, with her solid attributes of anvil
and column.[64] Presumably the dragon is the creature of vice, now overcome

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62   Sellink, *Bruegel* 126–132, 153: *Kermis at Hoboken* (1559; nos. 74–75), *Proverbs* (1559; no. 76),
      Carnival and Lent (1559; no. 77), *St. George's Kermis* (no. 78); *Children's Games* (1560; no. 94).

63   Orenstein, *Drawings and Prints* 177–178, 188–189, no. 74–75. Cock's added inscription
      reads: 'To conquer one's impulses, to restrain anger and the other vices and emotions: this
      is the true fortitude'.

64   Mâle E., *Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography
      and its Sources*, ed. H. Bober – trans. M. Mathews (Princeton: 1986) 285–301, esp. 290, dis-
      cussing French fifteenth-century models, where Fortitude has a tower beside from which
      she draws out a dragon, as she stands upon a wine press and holds an anvil comfortably
      on her back. The press that holds the tail of the dragon in Bruegel's design surely incorpo-
      rates the winepress from the model.

(cf. the imagery of Revelation, 12:3–9, of the woman in the sun, who stands triumphant upon a dragon), as the added text suggests. Obviously within this print series of the Seven Virtues, personification is singular and ostensive for Bruegel rather than multiple and active, like his skeletons of death.

The raging battle has a predictable outcome and a happy ending: the forces of evil, chiefly noxious animals and Boschian demon hybrids, are being routed by a human militia of diverse backgrounds. In the lower left a peasant woman and a monk wield homespun weapons, while in the lower right armored soldiers join the fray. Once Bruegel stages military tactics, led by a corps of cavalry lancers in the left background and a phalanx of infantry in the upper right. Their charge and progress from left to right in the print are scarcely challenged by the demons. Moreover, the main foreground animals are also clearly symbols, derived from Bruegel's recent 1556–58 set of prints by Cock (engraved by Pieter van der Heyden) of the Seven Deadly Sins: (from left across the print) the peacock of Pride, the swine of Gluttony, the ass of Sloth, the turkey of Envy, the cock of Lust, the toad of Avarice, and the bear of Anger (later repeated against the Hellmouth wall in the *Triumph of Death*). At the top center of this image, where the Madrid painting shows a chapel defended by skeletons, stands a fortress, manned by angels, whose wings appear just above the wall. Four face-like towers of that citadel resemble the arched ruin of Death with its clockface 'eye' in Madrid. Ultimately, however, *Fortitudo* stages a Christian *psychomachia*, or battle between good and evil, virtue and vice, with an assured triumph of heavenly forces in the field.[65]

Returning to the *Triumph of Death*, we can note that this is an image of conflict and interaction, even of ultimate annihilation, but among figure groups where, except for foreground individuals, little distinction emerges except for basic markers of gender, dress, and skin tone. If anything, the redeployment of the personification of death to a myriad of identical figures undermines the previous expectations of personification as a pictorial mode. Certainly the *Triumph of Death* marks a departure form earlier personified representations of the theme of death and from Bruegel's allegories of Virtues and Vices for Hieronymus Cock. But we can note that it does tally with his earlier experiment with *Everyman* (albeit inverting its protagonists from humans with various inanimate objects to skeletons who attack humans). It also shares elements with the de-personalized allegory of the *Battle about Money*. The *Triumph of Death* contributes to both the multiplication of figures and downplaying of

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65   Mâle, *Late Middle Ages* 309–12; Katzenellenbogen A., *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London: 1939; reprint ed., New York: 1964).

specific names (as discussed by Heuer in this volume), while simultaneously maintaining seriousness of purpose rather than descending to genre representation of the everyday, which Bruegel would epitomize in his peasant pictures.

On the 1519 portrait medal produced for Erasmus of Rotterdam by Quinten Massys, the figure of Terminus, god of boundaries and emblem of Erasmus, appears on the reverse of the author portrait obverse, declaring beside his head, 'I concede to none' (*concedo nulli*). In a Greek inscription he enjoins the viewer to 'Consider the end of a long life', while marking the physical end of existence. Thus does Terminus utter in echo of Horace's (im)mortal words, *mors ultima linea rerum*, 'death is the end of all things'.[66]

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66   Silver L., *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (Totowa, N.J.: 1984) 105–133, esp. 110, 243–44; Panofsky E., "Erasmus and the Visual Arts", *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969) 200–228, esp. 215–217. The quote from Horace stems from the *Epistolae* I, 16: 79.

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Metamorphic Figuration

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Jan van Hemessen's Anatomy of Parody

Bret L. Rothstein

> A man and his Hobby-Horse, tho' I cannot say that they act and re-act exactly after the same manner in which the soul and body do upon each other: Yet doubtless there is a communication between them of some kind; and my opinion rather is, that there is something in it more of the manner of electrified bodies,—and that, by means of the heated parts of the rider, which come immediately into contact with the back of the Hobby-Horse,— by long journies and much friction, it so happens, that the body of the rider is at length fill'd as full of Hobby-Horsical matter as it can hold […].
>
> —LAURENCE STERNE, *Tristram Shandy*

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What did sixteenth-century viewers make of sexually charged imagery?[1] I do not mean explicit material, such as badges adorned with stilt-walking vaginas, winged penises, and the like.[2] Nor am I thinking of obscene marginalia and other such furtive pleasures. Rather, I have in mind substitutions—oblique suggestions—that occur in relatively broadly accessible images. Even as they

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1   This paper owes a significant debt to three important studies: Jongh E. de, "A Bird's-Eye View of Erotica. *Double Entendre* in a series of seventeenth-century genre scenes", in idem, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting*, trans. M. Hoyle (Leiden: 2000) 21–58; Kavaler E. M., "Pieter Aertsen's Meat Stall. Divers Aspects of the Market Piece", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 40 (1989) 67–92; and idem, "Erotische elementen in de markttaferelen van Beuckelaer, Aertsen en hun tijdgenoten", in Muylle J. *et al., Joachim Beuckelaer. Het markt- en keukenstuk in de Nederlanden 1550–1650*, exhibition catalogue, (Ghent: 1986) 18–26. On eroticism specifically in the work of Lucas van Leyden, see Silver L. A., "Fools & Women: Profane Subjects by Lucas van Leyden", *Print Collector's Newsletter* 14 (1983) 130–135.

2   See, for instance, van Beuningen H. J. E. *et al., Heilig en profaan*, 3 vols. (Cothen: 1993–2012).

FIGURE 17.1   *Jan Sanders van Hemessen* (*with the Master of Paul and Barnabas*)*,* The Prodigal
Son (*1536*). *Oil on panel, 140 × 198cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts. Photo:
© Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels/J. Geleyns/www.roscan.be.*

go public with their charges, these take a strikingly asymptotic approach to
their referents, one that admits uncertainty. In turn, that uncertainty raises
several questions. For instance, sometimes a mussel is just a mussel, but what
is it when it isn't? How is one to know which is the case? And why bother
depicting an object as if it might stand for something else in the first place? If
the human body is the topic at hand, what is the use of evoking it obliquely,
especially in visible form before a relatively large audience? More to the point,
perhaps, what was the point of doing so in a culture that resided in the shadow
of Original Sin? The answers to these questions are of considerable art histori-
cal interest, for visible sexual metonyms seem to engage as much with repre-
sentation itself as with a subject one might wish to represent.

Consider, for instance, the procuress from Jan van Hemessen's *Prodigal Son*
of 1536 [Fig. 17.1]. Hemessen uses this figure as a narrative and representational
anchor for sexual proclivity—i.e., as both the enactment and an interrogation
of desire.[3] For instance, rather than depicting knuckles and the back of her left

3   Cf. Wallen B., *Jan van Hemessen: An Antwerp Painter between Reform and Counter-Reform*
    (Ann Arbor: 1983) 56.

FIGURE 17.2   *Jan Sanders van Hemessen* (*with the*
                Master of Paul and Barnabas), The
                Prodigal Son (*1536*). *Oil on panel, 140 ×*
                198cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine
                Arts. Detail of the foreground. Photo:
                © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium,
                Brussels/J. Geleyns/www.roscan.be.

hand, he supinated her arm radically below the elbow, emphasizing the cylin-
drical volume her palm and fingers define. He also arranged her right hand
over the top of a similarly phallic glass, as if to block some sort of transit. And
to the left of the woman he placed a cluster of white radishes, one of which
arcs noticeably toward her crotch. Hemessen then accentuated this latter area
with a pronounced drapery fold, delineating her *mons pubis* with great preci-
sion [Fig. 17.2].

  Such details accord with the thematic function of the figure, which balances
the other women in the foreground. Her ugliness grounds their beauty, her
age answers their youth, her plain outfit undermines their stylish attire, her
rough eagerness belies their sly calculation, and her undisguised lust makes
their reserve seem more like automation. Hemessen also arranged her pose
so that it would echo that of the prostitute in the center of the foreground. As
a result, the procuress strikes a cautionary note, implying that she once was

what the younger women are and what she is they shall become. In short, the figure of the procuress suggests that to take pleasure in the foreground scene is to opt for the advantages of nubility, advantages that she defines *ex post facto* as illusory. She thus provides a supply-side counterpart to the old drunkard behind her. Where he demonstrates the cost of having paid good money for life's pleasures, she exemplifies the cost of having charged for them.[4]

To point out the trouble with pleasure makes sense, both within the scene and with respect to the moral weight that attended contemporaneous visual experience. After all, to look closely at this painting, with its wealth of earthly delights, was to risk *concupiscentia oculorum*, which the procuress's unsightliness rebukes with remarkable bravado.[5] And yet the figure of the procuress is visually compelling, even fascinating. She resides in the extreme foreground, occupies a significant share of the panel, and has been depicted with great care, looking for all the world like a relative of the exquisitely awful *Ugly Duchess*, painted ca. 1513 by Quinten Massys and now in the National Gallery of Art, London. The comparison with Massys's figure is instructive, for each painting offers a paradoxically beautiful rendering of incontestable hideousness. This strategy generates an important reflexivity, allowing each painting to explore the nature and purpose of pictorial representation via a painterly oxymoron— viz., the pretty ugly figure.[6]

Hemessen was alive both to this perverse paradox and to the interpretive trouble it could cause. As does Massys's painting, so does his play with materials, as in the diaphanous fabric that rises from behind the procuress's satin undergarment, contrasting with both the heavier material of her dress and the waxiness of her skin. He also toys with texture, for instance by allowing the rippled fabric on the arms of the dress to recapitulate the mannish tendons, Adam's apple, and creases of the woman's neck. These and other details invite close scrutiny, which they simultaneously reward and punish. The result is indeterminacy: as a human figure the procuress is beastly, but as a product of painterly skill she is exquisite.

Hemessen's indeterminacies extend beyond the relationship between mimesis, beauty, and pleasure. They also include the identification, and thus

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4   Wallen, *Jan van Hemessen* 57–58.

5   On the risks associated with enjoying Hemessen's painting, see Rothstein B., "Beer and Loafing in Antwerp", *Art History* 35, 5 (November 2012) 886–907. On *concupiscentia oculorum* and its relationship to the pictorial arts, see Hamburger J., "Idol Curiosity", in Krüger K. (ed.), *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2002) 19–58.

6   For more on Massys's painting, see Silver L. A., *The Paintings of Quinten Massys with Catalogue Raisonné* (Montclair: 1984) 140–143 and 220–221.

interpretation, of depicted objects in the first place. Consider, for instance, the strange passage where the procuress's left leg passes over the edge of the chair. There, we see a series of folds that have little bearing on the position of the body beneath them. Rather than following the contours of a sharply bent leg or respond to the pressure of a chair, this area resolves into a set of adjacent and concentric ripples that are as reminiscent of human anatomy as they are of fabric. Indeed, the result is not just vaguely anthropomorphic; this proliferation of pseudo-labia verges on caricature.

And yet, this passage seems to be less about how to refer to a vagina without actually depicting it than about the question of whether or not one might be doing so in the first place. That is, the more anthropomorphic parts of the procuress's drapery raise—likely by design—basic questions about both the possibility and the mechanics of metonymy. After all, the Brussels painting is hardly an exercise in avoiding anatomical references. Like so many artisans before him, Hemessen repeatedly presents us with erogenous zones: smooth shoulders, elegant necks, wisps of hair at the base of the scalp. And then there is the antihero's codpiece, which provides yet another instance of unruly, needful things in a painting filled cheek-by-jowl with them. No less important, that unruliness is tagged as libidinal. Indeed, it is worth noting that the anthropomorphic passages of the procuress's dress occupy a place roughly symmetrical to that of the codpiece in Hemessen's composition. Consequently, that dress, like those radishes, that glass, and the back of the chair, lends itself to fairly adventurous sorts of reading. Depicted fabric offers itself as fabric, but it also provides cues that enable other interpretations. Yet such cues are relatively weak. Consequently, even as this detail lends itself to innuendo, it does not confirm such a response in anything like a muscular way.

The weakness of the procuress's dress as an anthropomorphic metonym stands out in a painting that exhibits a profusion of substitutions. Some, such as that suggestive gap in the procuress's left hand, constitute absent presences. Others, such as the phallic glass under her right hand, are visible. All are indirect, but some are more persuasive or suggestive than others. The resulting contrast among them is significant. Suggestiveness in the Brussels *Prodigal Son* often builds on juxtaposition—hand and knob, radish and crotch, etc.[7] To be sure, Hemessen uses this strategy for more than the occasional wink and nudge. (Consider, for instance, the ambiguous relationship between the old drunkard's right hand and the glass held by the central prostitute.) Nonetheless, parallelism bolsters anatomical or sexual metonyms with remarkable frequency. The compositional pairing of the prodigal son and the procuress, for instance, lends aspects of each a strongly sexual character. The codpiece, by virtue of

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7   See also the discussion of this strategy in Kavaler, "Erotische elementen" 19ff.

FIGURE 17.3   *Lucas van Leyden*, Two Couples in a Wood (*1509*).
                Engraving, 10.8 × 7.8cm. London, British Museum.
                Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

the erection beneath it, establishes this motif directly; the dress, by association with the codpiece (among other things) does so indirectly. In turn, this pairing inflects our response to that wayward radish, intruding as it does on so charged a passage. The result is a kind of smut-by-association, as one depicted object activates an interpretive line that parallelism and proximity then allow to shade into other, supposedly disparate objects. In this way, the painting establishes a spectrum of anatomical reference, from the explicit and largely incontestable (e.g., the codpiece) to the oblique and plausibly deniable (those dress folds). And that spectrum, fueled by parallelism, invites further comparison, this time among interpretations.

To highlight the significance of this, contrast Hemessen's metonyms with simple implication, such as one finds in Lucas van Leyden's ca. 1509 *Two Couples in a Wood* [Fig. 17.3]. In this case, location, differences of clothing and status, and intimate gestures suggest something disreputable is afoot. Most likely, the four seek a private spot for the pursuit of sexual delectation—a situation one frequently finds in a contemporaneous Netherlandish literature. Rather than providing surrogates for anatomy or copulation, though, Lucas provides only the preconditions for the latter. He depicts two couples formed primarily, if not exclusively, on the basis of desire. (Tellingly, one man's codpiece is already partly undone.) He shows them in physical contact without any indication of emotional or religious engagement. And he implies their departure from visibility and, in the process, their pursuit of seclusion. Everything is more or less what it seems, even if what it seems is unseemly.

By contrast, pictures that employ metonymic indirection avoid explicit reference even as they simultaneously activate an awareness of what has been invoked but not named. As a result, metonymy of the sort we find in the Brussels painting calls figuration itself into question. Since substitution depends on interpretive contingency, reference becomes unstable. Hemessen depicts a dress, for instance, but he does so in ways that complicate that identification, allowing us to interpret a pictorial detail as both fabric and as a possible anatomical reference. One interpretation is stronger, or at least initially more obvious, but in the context of a sexually charged narrative the other interpretation becomes inextricable from it. This alone would be interesting, but Hemessen compounds the situation by playing with that spectrum of indirection, from the relatively strong to the relatively weak. In so doing, he avoids clarifying where the boundaries of suggestion lie. Indeed, he gives us details that remain sufficiently ambiguous as to entertain considerable doubt. What is more, he does this with reference to a thing of such immediacy and familiarity (the human body) that it seems almost beyond question. As a result, his anthropomorphic sexual references seem less like a convenient way to address taboo subjects and more like a clever way to disrupt the surface of Netherlandish representation.

Homo homini lupus

Indirection of the kind one sees in the Brussels *Prodigal Son* was neither new nor uncommon in 1536. Early sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings and prints abound with suggestive objects: jaunty staffs and swords, bulging (or, just as often, flaccid) purses and bags, knobs and sticks, keys and locks, organs,

FIGURE 17.4   *Lucas van Leyden*, Pyramus and Thisbe (*1514*). *Engraving, 11.9 × 16.0cm. London, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.*

drums, jugs, shoes, pots, bagpipes, mussel shells, etc. Such is the profusion of surrogates that a prominent codpiece seems almost naive in its directness. Take, for instance, Lucas van Leyden's 1514 engraving of *Pyramus and Thisbe* [Fig. 17.4]. Lucas need not have juxtaposed sword, crotch, and breasts so bluntly to convey either the narrative background or Thisbe's emotional state; the lion and shawl at left see to the former, while the cupid atop the fountain addresses the latter.[8] But that is not the purpose of juxtaposition in Lucas's print. Rather, the alignment of these items emphasizes the story's sexual component, which is reinforced by the ornamentation of Pyramus's sword. The print is thus thick with anthropomorphic metonyms, which issue a warning of sorts.

Other cases, such as the *Susanna and the Elders* of ca. 1508, are more complex [Fig. 17.5]. Here, Lucas combines limited directness (e.g., the standing elder's masturbatory gestures) with substitution (the intersecting sticks in the lower left foreground).[9] As Peter Parshall has demonstrated, to look closely at this print is to learn from a counterexample by risking identification with it:

8   Cf. the account provided in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IV 55–195.
9   Parshall P., "Lucas van Leyden's Narrative Style", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 29 (1978) 211.

FIGURE 17.5   *Lucas van Leyden*, Susanna and the Elders
                (*ca. 1508*). *Engraving, 19.6 × 14.3cm. London,
                British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the
                British Museum.*

as the elders observe Susanna, so do we observe both their observation and the object of their attention.[10] However, that arboreal metonym in the foreground allows the print to indict more than just visual experience. Evoking sexual stimulation indirectly, Lucas requires a readiness on the viewer's part to recognize that indirection. In so doing, he makes erotic viewing reflexive. (Only someone with certain things on his mind would interpret a pair of sticks as a sexual metaphor.) Thus, even our interpretive disposition parallels that of the aged miscreants. As does Hemessen in the *Prodigal Son*, so does Lucas appear to be laying traps for the viewer.[11]

10   Ibidem. For another approach to reflexive viewing, see Koerner J. L., *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 1993) esp. 292–317.

11   For related examples, see Parshall P., "Penitence and *Pentimenti*: Hieronymus Bosch's *Mocking on Christ* in London"; Rothstein, "Beer and Loafing in Antwerp", in Hamburger

Most such traps would likely have been readily recognizable. After all, configurations such as the Brussels *Prodigal Son* or Lucas's *Susanna and the Elders* attest to habits of viewing. The residue of an interpretive disposition, they signal a cultural system at work. It therefore stands to reason that various sorts of judgment were also at stake. After all, if metonymic anatomical and sexual references served as a kind of currency for a range of artists and viewers, then standards—admittedly rough and ad hoc—necessarily governed the play of such references. Otherwise, there would be no detectable structure, no process of repetition and variation on which a viewer might depend. Indeed, one suspects that, for sixteenth-century Netherlandish visual culture, questions of aptness, crudeness, utility, and the like would have been particularly weighty with respect to work such as Hemessen's. These questions would have ranged far beyond the simply moral, too, since the presence of standards—especially rough, ad hoc, and thus contestable ones—places an accent on how well one plays a given game.

That is almost certainly why many surviving objects do not deviate from moral standards so much as dance merrily about them. The trident, cone shell, and spiky curls that punctuate Jan Gossart's 1516 *Neptune and Amphtrite*, for example, serve a less muscularly moral purpose than the foreground sticks in *Susanna and the Elders*. Of course, Gossart's painting depicted a Classical subject and functioned in a courtly context.[12] Nevertheless, this observation holds for sixteenth-century Netherlandish visual culture more broadly and closer to street level. For instance, though Lucas was often schoolmarmish, he was not uniformly so: witness his 1510 *Milk Maid*, a notably vigorous exercise in innuendo.[13] And even when the image in question served a moral purpose, visual indirection frequently seems to beg the question of whether it is actually all that indirect in the first place.

J. F. – Korteweg A. S. (eds.), *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance* (London & Turnhout: 2006) 373–379.

12   For more on the courtly eroticism of Gossart's painting, see Schrader S., "Jan Gossaert's *Neptune and Amphtrite* and the Body of the Patron", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 58 (2008) 40–57.

13   Wuyts L., "Lucas van Leydens 'Melkmeid'. Een proeve tot ikonologische interpretatie", *De gulden passer* 52–53 (1974–1975) 441–453. Cf. Silver, "Fools & Women" 132, on the moralizing potential of eroticism in this print.

Kakelen is nog geen eieren leggen

The aptness of indirection comes into question because anthropomorphic sexual metonymy is strongly reciprocal. A knob on a chair is just a knob, except when a lascivious figure gropes it suggestively, in which case it lends itself to anatomical associations. In that moment, though, the penis also ceases to be a stable intellectual entity. No longer an anatomical feature of quasi-mythical character, it becomes dumbly knoblike. The reciprocity of the anthropomorphic metonym thus makes interpretation particularly volatile. Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish culture seized on that volatility, relating anatomical features and sexual practices to all manner of inanimate objects—often the more idiotic or mundane, the better. Consider, for instance, a song from the Antwerp Songbook (*Antwerps Liedboek*), published by Jan Roulans and now known from its third edition (1544). The song in question, number 21, is described as *Een oudt liedeken* (An Old Song).[14] Note in particular this verse:

> One who has a good new mill,
> Oh, how well he can grind.
> Whenever he has milled well
> Then he lies there so quietly.
> The runner stone gets off,
> The bedstone stays in its place.[15]

Needless to say, this is not a lesson in the production of flour, particularly given the frequency with which mills and their components served as metonyms for sexual engagement in Middle Dutch culture.[16] But neither is Song 21 an exercise in euphemism, or polite linguistic evasion. Rather, it is at least partly dysphemistic, heightening the inflammatory potential of metonymy. For instance, the refrain accentuates the lasciviousness of the song by referring

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14   The reference to the song's age most likely indicates that it dates from before the 1520s. See Poel D. van der – Geirnaert D. – Joldersma H. – Oosterman J. (eds.), *Het Antwerps liedboek*, 2 vols. (Tielt: 2004) II 13–14. All references to Middle Dutch passages (taken from volume I of this edition) are by song number. All English-language translations from this text are my own.

15   Ibidem I 21: 3, i–vi: 'Die een goede nieuwe molen heeft / Och, hoe wel mach hijse malen! / Wanneer hijse wel ghemalen heeft, / So leyt si wel also stillen. / Den oppersten steen die gaet of, / Den ondersten blijft in zijn rechten'.

16   In addition to Song 21, for instance, see Songs 15, 26, 50, 62, and 178.

to *hillenbillen* (lit. sharpening stones, but also metaphorically a reference to sexual congress) and declaring *Stampt, stamperken, stampt! Stampt, hoerekint, stampt!* ([He] grinds, the little pestle, [he] grinds! [She] grinds, the child-of-a-whore, [she] grinds!). But the partial dysphemism of Song 21 does more than flirt with the limits of contemporaneous morality. It also toys with the limits of reference, piling metonym upon metonym with such vigor that the act of substitution itself becomes a point of aesthetic interest. Mills stand for genitalia, which become mortar and pestle, which again evoke vagina and penis. Anthropomorphic metonymy turns obscenity into a language game.

Perhaps that is why the song shifts tellingly in its final verse:

> He took that maiden by the hand,
> He lay her on the bedstone.
> He set himself on the edge of the vat.
> He had her there alone.
> The one leg he set upon the [flour] sack,
> The other leg on the lifter.[17]

This verse expands the role of the mill to include a significantly more literal component, noting where the couple went and how the man arranged his partner's limbs. Using implication ('He had her there alone'), it reiterates with limited directness what substitution had already evoked. Besides performing an undeniably salacious function, this attention to physical logistics also bolsters earlier metonymic operations by further extending linguistic transformation: in one verse the mill is a surrogate for the copulating couple, in another it is where that couple goes to copulate.

Of course, that transformation models interpretive success, confirming the erotic potential of earlier lines by literalizing their content. The final verse does more than guide the obtuse reader or singer, though. It also encourages a review of the preceding language games. In so doing, it simultaneously heightens our awareness of taboo subjects and plays with evocation. As a result, it resembles Hemessen's juxtaposition of cloth and codpiece. Placed symmetrically about the central vertical axis of the Brussels painting, those two items occupy a reciprocal relationship, with one offering a direct reference to literally veiled anatomy, while the other resembles a veiled reference to

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17   Ibidem 21: 4, i–vi: 'Hi nam dat meysken bi der hant, / Hi leydese aen die steene. / Hi steldese op dat cuypenboort, / Hi haddese daer alleene. / Dat een been stelde hi op den sack, / Dat ander been al op die lechte'.

direct observation of a (hypertrophied) anatomical structure. In both painting and song, the process of substitution calls attention to itself.

That is also why the dysphemistic qualities of these examples are of a limited sort: provocation takes a back seat to reflexivity. The prodigal son keeps his breeches on, and the procuress's dress most strongly resembles a dress. Likewise, Song 21 does indeed evoke aspects of the erotic, such as the friction that attends vigorous sexual contact or the splayed legs of the female partner, which it describes in quite concrete terms. Even as examples such as these emphasize anatomy or sexual activity, though, they also emphasize the fact that various things are *reminiscent* of anatomy or sexual activity. They bring concepts into close proximity—miller and paramour, runner stone and bed-stone, penis and pestle, vagina and mortar—shifting our attention between them in ways that not only generate parallelism but also emphasize the act of paralleling those subjects in the first place. Most likely that is why the final verse of Song 21 closes with an additional linguistic flourish. Referring to the 'lifter' (*die lechte*) in its closing line, the verse reactivates metonymy by naming a mill component that physically connects with the runner stone (calling that to mind once more) and, semantically, evokes additional aspects of sexual engagement. Having run from metonymy to the literal and back again, this verse offers the singer or reader an opportunity to play along, to track and approximate a kind of interpretive agility. Consequently, songs such as this are not simply the work of a culture flirting with its prohibitions. They also are self-conscious engagements with metonymy, in which the supposed simplicity of a given substitution belies a keen awareness of how similarity and difference might be construed.

Vieze varkens worden niet vet

Substitution establishes an analogical circuit between two entities, but that circuit is contingent on more than simply a base of shared knowledge. One can memorize the names of various anatomical features or edible plants; that sort of contingency presents relatively little trouble. It does not, however, guarantee that a person armed with those names would comprehend Hemessen's saucy deployment of a radish. The latter, dependent on indirection and juxtaposition, relies in particular on the ability to bend definitions and ideas toward one another, to re-map terms and objects. In so doing, though, it also increases the chance of interpretive error—something Middle Dutch culture well knew. We find an acknowledgment of this, for example, in the final verse of Song 21. By confirming the song's sexual component, that verse validates the detection

of anthropomorphic substitution and celebrates the successful sharing of interpretive codes that metonymy requires. In the process, though, it also implicitly acknowledges that someone might actually fail to get the joke in the first place. That is probably part of the reason that judgment of how skillfully one communicates, rather than simply *what* one communicates, figured prominently in vernacular expression of the early sixteenth century.[18] To employ or spot a broadly accepted substitution would have been a valuable socially and intellectually, to spot a witty or sly one even more so. Skill mattered.

Interestingly, the Antwerp Songbook contains a significant number of vocational metonyms that play with ideas of skill. Fishermen land tricky catches (Song 71); millers grind grain for demanding clients (Song 178); tailors stitch severely rent garments (Song 179); bakers scrape the kneading troughs of hungry women (Song 189); locksmiths file stuck locks (Song 191); and doctors perform urgently needed examinations (Song 193). Unsurprisingly, the failure of these specialists to train or perform properly is a comic mainstay. For example, the transaction between miller and client in Song 178 begins promisingly, with a woman saying, '"Miller, if you want to grind [for] me / Then really mill my corn. / Push a bit deeper. / It's really helping me"'.[19] Eventually, though, pleasure yields to disappointment. The miller proves inattentive: 'That night, around midnight, / The bell sounded. / "Oh, boy", she said, "Miller, / You need to give it a rest. / It's all done now"'.[20] He also turns out to be clumsy and easily alarmed: '"When the bell rings loudly / you grind too roughly"', she complains.[21] And, last but not least, he proves incapable of handling mixed messages. After airing her complaints, the woman tells him that his flaws are inconsequential. She then tries to entice him yet again: '"Yes, yes, push a little deeper. / Then I'll sing your praises"'.[22] The song concludes with the miller worrying about his future—'"My stone is getting worn out. / I shan't know what to do / If I have too little"'—and the woman still demanding satisfaction.[23]

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18   Cf. Richardson T. M., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2011), esp. 63–81.

19   Van der Poel *et al.* (eds.), *Het Antwerps liedboek* I 178: 3, i–iv: '"Molenaer als ghi mi malen wilt, / So maelt mijn corenken wel: / Steect een steecxken diepere, / Het helpt mi also wel"'.

20   Ibidem 178: 4, i–v: 'Snachts, ontrent der middernacht, / Dat belleken gaf gheluyt. / "Ay my", seyt si, "molenare, / Ghy moeter scheyden uut. / Ende nu eest al ghedaen"'.

21   Ibidem 178: 5, i–ii: '"Al gheeft dat belleken groot gheluyt, / Ghi maelt noch veel te groof"'.

22   Ibidem 178: 5, vi–vii: '"Ja, ja, steect een luttlken diepers, / So gheve ic u den lof"'.

23   Ibidem 178: 6, i–vii: '"Soude ic noch langhe malen, / Mijn steen wort veel te bot: / Ick en sout niet weten waer halen, / Mijn stof viel veel te cort", Ende hi opt vrouken loech. "Ja, ja, en wilter niet afscheyden / Het is noch veel te vroech"'.

A standard of excellence is at work, and it runs throughout these vocational substitutions. For instance, a woman tells a doctor in Song 193, '"Take your probe and probe me / With good cheer, / And shake a leg about it"'.[24] The doctor turns out to be a quick fellow: 'His container of salve was out in a flash'.[25] Unfortunately, speed does not guarantee quality. Though the man repeatedly sees to his partner, 'sweetly, as best he could', he proves incapable of following through on his promise to 'salve' (*salven*) her wound adequately. As a result, 'his probe bent like a bow'.[26] Such is her shock that the woman initially does not realize what has happened; she admonishes the doctor to obey her and complete the examination properly. Things do not look good for the man.[27] To be sure, the song attributes blame in customary misogynistic fashion, linking the doctor's failure to the woman's age and implicitly unsavory past.[28] The song ends, however, with merciless indictment of the doctor's prowess: 'The woman cried out loudly and heedlessly, / "Miserable devil, first truly learn your trade. / First learn to cure"'. Suggesting he might do better making shoes, she ends by calling him a '"miserable idiot / who [merely] investigates women"', rather than treating their conditions properly.[29] The implication is that a man with proper social and sexual experience would never be caught out. The true salty dog would know how to gauge his circumstances and navigate them with aplomb.

Criticism was not limited solely to the suckers and the mugs that suffer repeated humiliation in the Antwerp Songbook. Qualitative judgment also applied to listeners, readers, and singers. For instance, Song 191—a locksmith's lament—opens by addressing 'you who are better off making a pair of shoes' than trying to satisfy a woman's desires—i.e., the impotent and amorously ineffectual within earshot.[30] Similarly, in Song 193 we are meant to share

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24   Ibidem 193: 1, viii–x: '"So neempt v tent en tentelt my / Van goeder herten bly. / Pijnt u te spoene"'.

25   Ibidem 193: 2, v: 'Sijn bus metter salven, die was daer bereet'.

26   Ibidem 193: 3, i–v: 'Dat meesterken gaf en gaf dat vrouken soet / Al van den beste. / Hy soudese noch eens tenten, tenten metter spoet / Maer sijn tente en woude niet vesten, / Sijn tente die faute gelic een riet […] / Van scaemte dat hi dat vrouken liet'.

27   Ibidem 193: 3, viii–x.

28   The song identifies that past by means of yet another euphemism, referring to the age and severity of the woman's so-called wound. (ibidem 193: 4, iii–iv) For an interesting pictorial analogue for such misogyny, see Silver, "Fools & Women".

29   Ibidem 193: 4, v–x: 'Dat vrouken riep luy ende daertoe fel, / "Armen duvel, leert irst u ambacht wel, / Leert eerst cureren! / Ghi mocht veel beter eerst gaen lappen up schooen, / Arm allendighe loen, / Dan vroukens tempteeren"'.

30   Ibidem 191: 1, iii–iv.

vicariously in the criticism of the doctor. That is why the latter song ends with an explicit condemnation of his art, articulating and validating a conclusion we presumably reached long before. Similarly, Song 178—another miller's tale—invites us to recognize erotic risk in the third verse, where the woman foreshadows trouble with her declaration that, '"This is no children's game. / Yes, yes, it would be a great shame to let corn fall [wasted] in the field"'.[31] Every move, every come-on, every flirtation, seduction, or engagement undergoes assessment in which we are invited to participate. The situation is familiar from rhetorical practice, especially the tradition of the *Landjuweel*, with its regional and civic rivalries played out on the *rederijker* stage. But as the Antwerp Songbook indicates, such judgment also applied to other, less explicitly ritualized varieties of expression.[32]

What is more, that judgment applies not only to physical capability but also to the business of communication itself. Consider Song 37, for instance, which presents a dialogue between an old man and the young woman he wants to woo. Each time the man advances on her, she swats him away effortlessly. For instance, he says, '"Best beloved, I would gladly wed you / If you would have me"'. Not skipping a beat, she scoffs:

> Says an old beast of 70 years,
> Old and wrinkled as you are!
> With you nothing could even get started.
> You can't tap anything other than stale wine.[33]

The song is, of course, an exercise in satire, but it is also an essay in parody, in the broad sense of comic inversion for meta-critical purposes.[34] It is, in short, an instance of representational play. The young woman's metonyms strip away the niceties of courtly romantic language to reveal the common denominator among supposedly elevated and low forms of expression. This move is significant, for it defines decorum not as a matter of conforming to static behavioral

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31 Ibidem 178: 3, v–vii: '"Ten is gheen kinderspel: / Ja, ja, twaer grote scade, liept coren op velt […]"'.

32 On Middle Dutch comic verse more generally, see Lodder F. J., *Lachen om list en lust. Studies over de Middelnederlandse komische versvertellingen* (Ridderkerk: 1997), esp. 134ff.

33 Van der Poel *et al.* (eds.), *Het Antwerps liedboek* I 37: 2, i–vii: '"Schoon lief, ick soude mi geerne paren, / Waert u beliefte, nu ter tijte". / "Spreect een oude quene van tseventich jaren, / Oudt ende verrompelt also ghi zijt; / Aen u en is doch gheen profijt: / Ghi en tapt niet dan verschaelden wijn"'.

34 See Rose M., *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern* (Cambridge: 1993).

formulae, but rather as a function of the discernment and agility required for navigating complex circumstances. True, the woman's topics and language may revolve around blunt sexual and anatomical surrogates—throughout the song she refers to her interlocutor's organ as a dry pen, an inadequate tap, and so forth. But she deploys her substitutions with such wit that her comportment becomes preferable to that of the supposedly more polite man, who musters little more than the usual tepid platitudes.[35] Indeed, insofar as both express the same basic drive—the woman repeatedly declares that her ideal lover must be young—the main thing separating them is representational skill. Anthropomorphic metonymy thus becomes the measure of her superior intellectual agility.

The Brussels *Prodigal Son* demonstrates a similar reflexivity. The bagpiper, for instance, looks toward the viewer, as if to interrogate our response to the embarrassment of erotic and pictorial riches on offer.[36] The questions he raises are only partly moral, though, for in calling the tune he also invites assessment: how do we like that tune? Does it lend itself to a particular sort of dance? And, of course, how accomplished is its performer?[37] In this respect, he functions in a manner similar to that of the closing line of Song 180, a banal account of women being pierced by lances and so forth, which ends with a peculiar request: 'Take this [song] with gratitude / Even though it's pretty coarse'.[38] Rather than being an earnest admission of stylistic weakness, the apologetic tone of these lines is almost certainly a preemptive move, an acknowledgment of roughness that invites judgment specifically in terms of what we expect roughness to be. Certainly the contents of the Antwerp Songbook suggest some readers were prepared to exercise such judgment. Crude substitutions abound, from the Doctor's 'salve' in Song 193 to the 'fish soup' a wife in Song 71 throws out when her husband comes home unexpectedly.[39] The piquant retorts of the woman in Song 37, by comparison, are quite sophisticated. But I suspect it is by that standard—creative engagement with, rather than the

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35　On wordplay and its relationship to erotic imagery, see Kavaler, "Erotische elementen" 18ff. Cf. de Jongh, "Bird's-Eye View".

36　Cf. the interpretation of the bagpiper in Wallen, *Jan van Hemessen* 56.

37　On the possibility that this figure is a self-portrait, see Held J., "Carolus Scribanius's Observations on Art in Antwerp", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996) 187–188; Rothstein, "Beer and Loafing in Antwerp" 900.

38　Van der Poel *et al.* (eds.), *Het Antwerps liedboek* I 180: 7, i–ii: 'Wilt dit in dancke ontfaen, / Al smaectet van den groven'.

39　Metonymic soup also makes an appearance in later Netherlandish paintings. See Kavaler, "Erotische elementen" 21. Kavaler (ibidem, note 12) also addresses the topic of fishermen in the *Antwerps liedboek*.

avoidance of, taboo subjects—that we are invited to judge Song 180. And by that standard the song is indeed rather coarse—i.e., not terribly witty—since it trots out common sorts of metonymy in mediocre ways. To enjoy Song 180 is thus to engage self-consciously in a bit of aesthetic slumming.[40] The most shameful aspect of talking—or painting—about sex in the early sixteenth century, it would seem, was doing it poorly.

Acknowledgments of stylistic interest and the importance of discernment even at the lower end of the expressive spectrum are noteworthy, for they confirm that substitutions of the sort discussed in this essay were indeed not euphemisms, in the strict sense of that term. Nor were they purely dysphemisms, either. Rather, they were something more complex. Naming by renaming, and establishing reciprocal circuits of reference, they were in fact experiments with language, both pictorial and verbal. No less important, they also were experiments in interpretive validity.

Ieder vogeltje zingt zoals het gebekt is

Interpretive validity takes on particular importance with respect to Hemessen's Brussels painting, for the tale of the Prodigal Son is a parable—that is, an exercise in figurative indirection. As such, it instantiates a concept anthropomorphically, allowing us to interpret its anti-hero as the embodiment of waywardness and the father as divine forgiveness. Crucially, though, in this parable the provision of that forgiveness depends on a hermeneutic shift. The father can only pardon the son once the latter has realized the error of his ways— once, that is, he corrects an earlier misprision. Thus, this tale, like the other parables ascribed to Jesus, is an object lesson in the simultaneous importance and elusiveness of interpretive validity. No less important, in its very indirection the parable presumes a trajectory that will run from misunderstanding to comprehension for its audience no less than for its subject. That trajectory is not linear, of course. As the prodigal son demonstrates, it can frequently involve a kind of retrograde motion. Furthermore, success is never assured; rather, it only follows consistent effort and prolonged attention. Nevertheless, the underlying theme at issue here is that of recognizing and getting to grips with difficult interpretive challenges. In this respect, Hemessen has not merely painted about sex. He also has painted about the fundamental difficulty

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40   Cf. Kavaler, "Pieter Aertsen's Meat Stall" 78, and idem, "Erotische elementen" 21, regarding the avoidance of boorishness (*dorperheit*).

of interpretation itself, particularly where it attends visual experience.[41] Moreover, he has done so with respect to a narrative in which interpretation depends on the discernment, investigation, and assimilation of analogies.[42] For in treating the parable of the Prodigal Son as an opportunity to present all manner of metonyms, Hemessen also activates hermeneutic doubt as a pedagogical tool, causing the viewer to embody both interpretive success and, potentially, failure.[43] In this respect, the profusion of seemingly lascivious references in the Brussels painting does more than play with sexual provocation. It also calls even suitably moral responses into question, insofar as these build on unstable pictorial ground.

This brings up one of the more engaging aspects of Hemessen's painting, the way it seizes on Augustinian doubt. Specifically, the Brussels *Prodigal Son* presents the viewer with a clutch of visual signs, many of which refer (and, simultaneously, do not refer) to other things, other ideas. We are on our own to recognize and use those signs correctly. To be sure, as for Augustine, so for the sixteenth-century viewer there would have been a presumably valid interpretation or set of interpretations. Indeed, as the depiction of a Biblical parable, the painting depended on precisely that expectation. It does not, however, strain to address the lowest common interpretive denominator—in essence, to ensure that everyone gets the point. On the contrary, it sets obstacles for the incompetent, the unwitting, and the unprepared.[44] To some it may have been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God, but for Hemessen's viewers

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41   For a different approach to the matter, see the argument concerning theater in Ramakers B. A. M., "Eloquent Presence: Verbal and Visual Discourse in the Ghent Plays of 1539", in Brusati C. – Enenkel K. A. E. – Melion W. S. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: 2011) 215–261. Wallen, *Jan van Hemessen* 61–62, briefly addresses the Ghent plays in connection with the Brussels painting. Connections between the 1539 *Landjuweel* and Hemessen's work remain ripe for further study.

42   On parables, see, among others, Snodgrass K. R., *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: 2008). For a historiography of responses to the parables of Jesus, see idem, "From Allegorizing to Allegorizing: A History of the Interpretation of the Parables of Jesus", in Longenecker R. N. (ed.), *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables* (Grand Rapids: 2000) 3–29.

43   On a related note, think of the 'admirable duplicity' of Aertsen's work noted by Kavaler, "Pieter Aertsen's Meat Stall" 82. Kavaler (ibidem 78) also suggests that Aertsen has set forth 'visual puzzles' for the viewer to resolve. Regarding trickiness in the work of Hemessen, see Rothstein, "Beer and Loafing in Antwerp".

44   For another account of interpretive trickery in sixteenth-century Netherlandish visual culture, see Rothstein B., "The Problem with Looking at Pieter Bruegel's *Elck*", *Art History* 26, 2 (2003) 143–173.

they are in parables, lest those viewers see but not perceive. Indeed, the reflective viewer of this painting cannot help but walk away from it unsure of her or his interpretation, insofar as that interpretation builds on a cluster of depicted objects that repeatedly direct one toward unstable, at times even unreliable, responses. Anthropomorphic metonymy becomes a kind of veil that makes the presence of a lesson perceptible, but avoids or subverts total revelation. In the process, the Brussels *Prodigal Son* shares the Antwerp Songbook's parodic tendencies. More important, perhaps, it also exploits those tendencies in order to interrogate how we conceive of interpretation in the first place.

Op een oude fiets moet je het leeren

But what does the procuress have to do with interpreting parables? Why place an extraneous figure such as her so prominently in the foreground, balancing her against the prodigal son and knitting her into this dense pictorial web of substitutions? The answer lies only partly in that peculiar drapery. It also lies in the delicious hideousness of the figure, which plays two main roles in Hemessen's depicted inn. The first role, to reiterate briefly, involves the element of hideousness, which administers a stern moral admonition that is more or less congruent with the parable of the Prodigal Son. Coupled with demonstrable lust, the physiology of the procuress demonstrates a toll for indulgence that is simultaneously material and, by implication, moral.[45] (It also reinforces the age-old gendering of sin and, by implication, religious wisdom.) At the same time, the procuress's shop-worn appearance also embodies the ephemerality of sexual interest. Her repellence thus helps make moral misprision visible: here is someone obsessed with the pursuit of short-term gain, which has demonstrably consumed her. In this respect, she advertises interpretive validity by embodying its opposite.

Second, the very deliciousness of the procuress's hideousness functions in a parabolic manner. Notice how the procuress mediates various intimacies. Some of these are narrative, such as the tricky transaction she arranged for the prodigal son. But some of those intimacies are of a subtler, stranger, and ultimately more unsettling sort. The most pressing of these pertains to the viewer, whose interest the painting thematizes in various ways—the bagpiper's gaze, the almost comical aggression of the cat at left, even the comportment of the foreground women. Rotated outward toward the viewer, the procuress and the woman adjacent to her offer remarkably direct visual access. Furthermore,

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45   See note 4.

the young prostitute reaches outward with her left hand, as if extending that half-empty glass toward us. Her hips rotated toward the procuress, her torso facing forward, she almost seems to be handing off the prodigal son to her counterpart at left and preparing for the next victim, i.e., the viewer. And since any anticipated consummation would necessarily involve the procuress, she mediates an erotic experience not only for the prodigal son but also for us.

More important, though, that erotic experience pertains to much more than simply the narrative—those women, the food, the drinks, the music, and so forth. It also pertains to the procuress herself. After all, she helps keep us at that depicted table by simultaneously rewarding and punishing close examination. Indeed, her breathtaking appearance even threatens to divert our attention from the all-important background redemption. In this respect, she performs the same sort of seductive function as her younger, supposedly more captivating counterparts. But if the procuress is another seductress, she is one of a peculiar sort. Unlike the prostitutes, who mechanically trot out their generically feminine charms, the procuress enchants us with a paradox that fuels contradictory impulses. One has to observe her closely in order to recognize the profound beauty of Hemessen's rendering. That is, one must dedicate time and effort to something that initially seems entirely repellent. The reward for doing so is to find delectation in a singularly unpromising prospect.

More than simply an instance of artisanal self-promotion, that delectation is instructive.[46] The pretty ugly form of the procuress presents a confusion of categories. For instance, it would not be right to say that this figure is an ugly woman, or that she would even be an ugly man. In fact, to paraphrase the physicist Wolfgang Pauli, such suggestions are not even wrong. Terms such as 'man' and 'woman' break down in the face of this figure, for by combining masculine and feminine traits, that figure systematically discomposes the categories themselves. The result is gender trouble—the deviation of a body from broadly accepted social categories. Such trouble is far from ornamental, for the procuress deviates visibly from the most basic contemporaneous definitions of human form, definitions (such as one finds in the Antwerp Songbook) that presumed a simple binary that subsumed what we now think of as physiology, gender, and sexuality. Consequently, this figure also constitutes an important example of early modern *de*-anthropomorphosis, refusing as it does to participate in that binary and thus refusing to extend anthropomorphism to the human form itself. To rephrase an earlier point, as a product of painterly skill

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46   For an interesting point of comparison, see Houghton C., "This Was Tomorrow: Pieter Aertsen's 'Meat Stall' as Contemporary Art", *The Art Bulletin* 86, 2 (2004) 277–300.

the procuress is stunning, but as a human figure it is quite literally beastly. Yet it is a surprisingly captivating, at times even ravishing beast.

In this respect, the procuress—like the anthropomorphic substitutions that abound in Hemessen's painting—once more calls into question the interpretation of depicted objects. In so doing, that figure demands not only moral reflection but also hermeneutic discernment, since it requires that we sort a confusion of categories that were thoroughly naturalized at the time Hemessen executed the Brussels painting. What is more, the procuress requires that we do so not in some dry, distant manner—contemplating someone else's folly, recognizing someone else's venality, criticizing someone else's cupidity—but rather in the most immediate way possible. Never explicit enough to instruct or delight in any crisp way, that figure instead enchants, repels, and thus confuses. Fashioned as an object of the viewer's erotic interest, the procuress's various anthropomorphic and de-anthropomorphic traits destabilize interpretation, denying certitude and emphasizing contingency. Consequently, that figure embodies the painting's larger tendency to ask what we talk about when we talk about meaning.

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The Smoke of Sacrifice: Anthropomorphism and Figure in Karel van Mallery's *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* for Louis Richeome's *Tableaux Sacrez* (1601)

Michel Weemans

Anthropomorphic rocks, clouds or landscapes appear frequently in Netherlandish art from Hieronymus Bosch to Herri met de Bles, Pieter Bruegel, Jacob de Gheyn or Hendrick Goltzius. Artists have regularly linked these hidden and ambiguous motifs to a reflection on the nature of image or on vision. Karel van Mallery's *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* belongs to this category of images. [Fig. 18.1] But before describing the anthropomorphic motif present in his engraving—and since interpretation and perception of double and ambiguous images are inextricably linked[1]—it is crucial to recall the context in which the print appears, i.e., Louis Richeome's important treatise dedicated to the Eucharist: *Holy Pictures* (*Tableaux sacrez*),[2] and to consider its link with the conception of *figure* developed by Richeome.[3]

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1 On this idea, see Gamboni D., "Voir double: théorie de l'image et méthodologie de l'interprétation", in Martin J.-H. (ed.), *Une image peut en cacher une autre. Arcimboldo, Dali, Markus Raetz* [exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris] (Paris: 2009) 15–25; and idem., *Paul Gauguin au centre mystérieux de la pensée* (Paris: 2013) 12–14.

2 *Tableaux sacrez des figures mystiques du très auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie* (Paris, L. Sonnius: 1601). An English version, translated by C. A. and issued by Christopher Anderton and Charles Apsley, appeared in London in 1619: *Holy Pictures of the mysticall Figures of the most holy Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Eucharist by Lewis Richeome*. Three engravers—Karel van Mallery, Leonard Gaultier and Thomas de Leu—illustrated Richeome's treatise. Van Mallery was the author of four engravings: *The Sacrifice of Abel* (chapter 2); *Isaac on the Altar* (chapter 4); *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (chapter 13); and *The Institution of the Eucharist* (chapter 14). Thomas de Leu engraved the frontispiece and *The Tree of Life* (chapter 1). Léonard Gaultier was the author of the remaining nine engravings. Contrary to the engravings by Gaultier, which were appropriated by Richeome, Karel van Mallery's engravings were specifically designed for the *Tableaux sacrez*. On Gaultier's engravings, as re-used by Richeome, see Linzeler A., *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du seizième siècle. Tome premier* (Paris: 1932) 371; and Salliot N., "Les pouvoirs de l'image dans le discours apologétique: les Tableaux Sacrez de Louis Richeome", in Couton M. – Fernandes I. – Jérémie C. – Vénuat M. (eds.) *Pouvoirs de l'image aux XVᵉ, XVIᵉ, XVIIᵉ siècles. Pour un nouvel éclairage sur la pratique des lettres à la Renaissance* (Clermont-Ferrand: 2009) 261. Karel

FIGURE 18.1   *Karel van Mallery*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *engraved illustration from Louis Richeome*, Les tableaux sacrez (*Paris, Sonnius: 1601*), plate 2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The Figure in Richeome's Holy Pictures

By 'picture' (*tableau*), Richeome means not only the engraved illustrations but also the iconic and textual complex that composes each of the fourteen chapters of the *Holy Pictures*.[4] Each chapter or *picture* is composed of three parts: the engraving and two texts commenting on the biblical episode. The first text (*description*) consists of an ekphrasis, largely based on the engraving, that

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van Mallery also engraved and co-published with Theoodor Galle an important treatise on vision and images, on which see in particular, Melion W. S., "'In sensus cadentem imaginem': Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theoodor Galle's *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610", in De Boer W. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2013) 44–63.

3   The various editions (1601, 1602, 1604, 1609, 1611 and 1613) demonstrate the book's success. In what follows, English quotations come from the 1619 edition published by Anderton and Apsley. On Louis Richeome, see Bottereau G., "Richeome", in Viller M. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Vol. 13* (Paris: 1937) 659–63; Brémond H., *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos jours.* 11 vols. (Paris: 1967) I 18–67; Lestringant F., "La promenade au jardin, ou La Peinture spirituelle du Père Richeome", in Guillerm J.-P. (ed.) *Récits / tableaux* (Lille: 1994) 81–102; Fabre P.-A., "Lieu de mémoire et paysage spirituel", in Moser M. – Nys P. (eds.), *Le jardin, art et lieu de mémoire* (Besançon: 1995) 135–148; Van Assche K., "Louis Richeome, Ignatius and Philostrates in the Novice's Garden. Or, the Signification of Everyday Environment", in Manning J. – Van Vaeck M. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition* (Turnhout: 1999) 3–10; Guiderdoni A., "Les formes emblématiques de l'humanisme dévôt: une lecture du catéchisme royal (1607) de Louis Richeome", in Graham D. (ed.), *An Interregnum of the Sign: The Emblematic Age in France. Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell*, Glasgow Emblem Studies 6 (2001) 227–251; Holtgen K.-J., "The Illustrations of Louis Richeome's *La Peinture Spirituelle* (1611) and Jesuit Iconography", in Lopez Poza S. (ed.), *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblematica* (La Coruna: 2004) 447–458; and Loach J., "An Apprenticeship in Seeing: Richeome's La Peinture spirituelle", in Melion W. – Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé A. (eds.), *Ut pictura meditatio: The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500–1700* (Turnhout: 2013) 337–399.

4   On Richeome's *Tableaux Sacrez*, see Siguret F., "La triple peinture des Tableaux Sacrez du Père Richeome", in Martel J. – Melançon M. (eds.), *Inventaire, lecture, invention. Mélanges de critique et d'histoire littéraires offerts à Bernard Beugnot* (Montréal: 1999) 195–208; Guiderdoni A., *De la figure scripturaire à la figure emblématique. Emblématique et spiritualité (1540–1740)*, Thèse de doctorat (Leuven-Paris: 2002) 107–122; Dekoninck R., *'Ad Imaginem'. Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'imaginaire dans la littérature spirituelle du XVIIᵐᵉ siècle* (Genève: 2005); Cousinié F., *Images et méditation au XVII° siècle* (Rennes: 2007); Salliot N., "Les pouvoirs de l'image dans le discours apologétique: les Tableaux Sacrez de Louis Richeome", in Couton M. – Fernandes I. – Jérémie C. – Vénuat M. (eds.), *Pouvoirs de l'image aux XVᵉ, XVIᵉ, XVIIᵉ siècles. Pour un nouvel éclairage sur la pratique des lettres à la Renaissance* (Clermont-Ferrand: 2009) 257–273.

delivers the 'literal explanation' of the biblical episode. The second text, called an 'exposition' (*exposition*), reveals the typological link with the eucharist and the spiritual meanings (*figures mystiques*) of the episode. The book's organization around a series of gradually unfolding revelations, along with its title, highlights Richeome's particular emphasis on vision: this is underscored by the primary role granted to the engraved image, by the various references to vision in the text, and by the many allusions to the imaginative activity of the reader-beholder.[5] The primacy of the visual, further underlined by the opening apostrophe to the readers, called 'Christian spectators',[6] aligns with the theme of the Eucharist, which was defined by Catholic theologians as the visible sign of the invisible God. Richeome selected biblical episodes that could function as typological prefigurations for the sacrament of the Eucharist,[7] ordered according to a progression from the Law of Nature (Tables 1 to 4) and the Law of Moses (5 to 11) to the Law of Grace (12 to 14), which marks the fulfilment of the divine plan.[8] The Paintings gradually announce the Eucharist, incrementally revealing it, or, better, giving it to be seen by stages, as the ultimate revelation

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5   See in particular Guiderdoni, *De la figure scripturaire* 111–112; and Salliot, "Les pouvoirs de l'image" 260–266. On vision in meditative treatises and Jesuit litterature see in particular Melion W. S., "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia", in Homann F. A. (ed.), *Jerome Nadal, Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels I: The Infancy Narratives* (Philadelphia: 2003) 1–96; idem, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625* (Philadelphia: 2009); Melion – Dekoninck – Guiderdoni (eds.), *Ut pictura meditatio*; and Fabre P.-A., *Décréter l'image. La XXVᵉ Session du Concile de Trente* (Paris: 2013).

6   Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez* 21.

7   Ibidem 1–2: 'Le Sacrement & sacrifice de l'Eucharistie est un ouvrage de Dieu si haut & si grand, que nulle langue d'homme ni mesme d'Ange, n'en peut assez dire, ni en discourir dignement. [...] Nous prenons pour theme de nos discours, les plus notables figures d'iceluy mystere, tracees au livre de Dieu, que pour ceste occasion nous avons intitulé, Tableaux Sacrez, c'est à dire, tables qui mettent devant les yeux, les images sacrees & figures prophetiques du mystere que nous adorons'.

8   As Richeome explains in the "Dedicace à la Royne", fol. 2 verso: 'Car c'est un present de quatorze tableaux sacrez, dont le dernier représente le festin nuptial du sauveur avec son Eglise, & seul contient en soy l'excellence de tous les treize ensemble, estant ce festin dressé de l'appareil de toutes les delices spirituelles & du mets d'immortalité'. The fourteen Pictures are, in order: *The Tree of Life, The Sacrifice of Abel, The Sacrifice of Melchisedech, Isaac on the Altar, The Paschal Lamb, Manna Gathering in the Desert, The Bread of Proposition, The Oblation of the First Fruits at Pentecost, The Bread of Elias, The Propitiatory Sacrifice, The Five Loaves and Two Fishes, Our Savior, Preaching of the Sacrament of His Body, Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles*, and *The Institution of the Eucharist*.

that completes a continuous sequence of prophetic events, shades or *figures*: hence the importance given by Richeome to the latter notion.

One of the most interesting features in the *Holy Pictures* is the theoretical reflection on the Christian notion of figure developed in the "Author's Preface".[9] Richeome states that he is concerned not so much with the natural figure that indicates 'the external form' of a thing, as with the artificial figure that he defines as 'one thing made to represent another'.[10] He then distinguishes three kinds of figures, the first of which is the image: 'given to the eyes of the body [...] without words' and 'called for this cause by the Ancients Dumbe Pictures'.[11] This first (specifically visual) category of figures divides itself into the material and the mental image, i.e., 'visions framed in our imagination'.[12] Richeome thus claims from the start the double nature of the image—both material and mental, external and internal—and accordingly, as Agnès Guiderdoni has rightly noted, he implies 'the possible correspondence between, for instance, an engraved image and the image formed by the spirit on the basis of a description'.[13] The second kind of figure, which 'serves for the ear', is the 'speaking figure': 'the fictions or descriptions which the poets or historians make in words', 'or the declarations which are made to explain some artificial figures either present or fained as present. Such are the discourses of Philostratus'.[14] The third kind of figure consists of 'things or actions instituted to represent other mysteries'. It is also called 'an allegory or mysticall figure, containing in

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9   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 1–11: "The Author's Preface of the Pictures in general. What a figure is, and how many kindes of Pictures there are". Cf. idem, *Tableaux Sacrez* 1–18: "Avant-Propos. Qu'est-ce que figure, & de combien de sortes il y en a".

10   Richeome, *Holy Paintings* 2. Cf. idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 3.

11   Ibidem 3: 'Parquoy figure selon nostre sens & usage present, c'est une chose faicte ou dressee pour en representer ou signifier une autre; & ceste-cy est artificielle & s'appelle autrement paincture; & se trouve de trois sortes. La premiere est celle qui donne aux yeux du corps, & representant par lineamens & couleurs, quelque chose sans sonner mot, qui pource est appellee par les anciens paincture muete'.

12   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 3. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 4: '[...] les visions qui se font en l'imagination: car encor qu'elles soient aucunement spirituelles, elles se font neantmoins à guise de corps obiectez à la veuë des sens interieurs'.

13   Guiderdoni, *De la figure scripturaire* 115.

14   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 3. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 4: 'La seconde sorte est celle qui donne à l'oreille, que par contraire qualité nous pouvons dire parlante, telles sont les descriptions ou fictions verbales qui se font par les Poëtes, ou historiens [...]. Ceste sorte comprend les narrations qui se font pour expliquer quelque figure artificielle, soit elle presente ou feinte comme presente. Tels sont les Tableaux de Philostrate'.

itself a spiritual sense, knowne to spiritual people, and hid to the rude'.[15] The whole of Richeome's book is marked by this hierarchical division associated with a movement of progression from the literal toward the spiritual. This movement is corroborated by two other important aspects of the book. The first is the organization of the fourteen chapters in three parts and the opposition between the Jews of the Old Law and the Christians of the Law of Grace, which Richeome describes in the foreword as the passage from imperfection to perfection, from childhood to adulthood: 'These Jewes were rude, like yong children; and therefore their Law was a Schoole-master'.[16] He utilizes the metaphor of ingestion to signify the progress of the faithful toward contemplation:

> [...] the Jewes fed upon Figures, by which they were taught; as their Paschall Lambe, their Manna, their Sacrifices, their Offerings [...] the Christians doe not so, but contrariwise they hold the Truth it selfe present, and in it they contemplate the Figures Past, without anymore using of them after the manner of the Jewes.[17]

Secondly, the hierarchical classification of figures and the progression from the material to the spiritual are strengthened by a sustained analogy to the exegesis of the four senses and its rules:

> The Literall or Historicall, which goeth the first, the Allegoricall or Figurative, which is the spirit of the Literall; the Tropologicall or Morall, which formes the manners; and the Anagogicall, which shewes the triumphant Church: the literall is the foundation of the other three; the

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15   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 3. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 4–5: 'La troisième sorte de figures est une chose ou une action instituée pour representer un mystere, & si c'est un mystere civil ou profane, c'est une figure civile ou profane, comme estoient les hieroglifes des vieux Ægyptiens [...]. Si c'est un mystere de religion, c'est une figure sacree. Ainsi la manne estoit une sacree paincture, non de couleurs ou de paroles; mais de signification. [...] Ceste figure est autrement nommee allegorie, paincture & exposition mystique, contenant en soy un sens spirituel, cogneu aux gens spirituels, & caché aux grossiers'.

16   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 9. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 14: 'Ces juifs étaient rudes et enfants: Et leur loi était un pedagogue'.

17   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 9. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 15: '[...] les juifs mangeaient les figures par lesquelles ils étaient enseignés, leur agneau paschal, leur manne, leurs sacrifices, leurs offrandes (...) les chrétiens tiennent la vérité présente et en icelle contemplent les figures passées'. On the 'meditation-manducation' in Richeome, see Spica A.-E., "De quelques traits de l'emblématique de dévotion en France au XVIIᵉ siècle", in Graham (ed.), *Interregnum of the Sign* 213–214.

Allegoricall is the mysticall signification of the Literall; the Tropologicall, is the fruit of the one and of the other; and the Anagogicall is the end of them all.[18]

In addition to the hierarchical distribution and forward movement of the four senses, Christian exegetes, let us recall, matched the three spiritual senses with the three theological virtues:[19] faith reinforces charity, which in turn feeds hope. In a similar way, the allegorical meaning corresponds to faith, and on it rests the moral meaning corresponding to charity, which in turn feeds the anagogical meaning corresponding to hope. Exegesis thus consists in a process of conversion that operates according to a double movement impelled by the *Holy Pictures*: a conversion of the meaning and a conversion of the reader-spectator (who is supposedly already one of the converted), whose virtues are strengthened:

[…] when the mysteries which we beleeve are declared to us by Figures and Prophecies given many ages agoe, our faithe takes foundations and roote (…) Secondly, the Figures confirme our hope (…) Finally, they inflame our love towards God. [….][20]

The whole prologue, based on the Bible and on the exegetical model outlined above, therefore insists on a hierarchical division and on a progressive movement comparable to a spiritual journey.[21] What Richeome theoretically states in the prologue, is then put into practice in the rest of the book: the fourteen chapters divided into three parts; the engraving (first figure); the descriptive text (second figure); and the expository text (third figure).

18   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 4. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 6: 'Le literal ou historien qui va le premier, l'allegorique ou figuratif qui est l'esprit du literal, le tropologique ou moral, qui forme les mœurs, & l'anagogique qui monstre l'Eglise triomphante. Le literal est la base des trois, l'allegorique est la signification mystique du literal, le tropologique est le fruict de l'un & de l'autre, l'anagogique est la fin de tous'.

19   See in particular Lubac H. de, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture. Vol. 2* (Paris: 1959) 489–683.

20   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 10. Idem *Tableaux sacrez* 16: 'Quand les mystères […] nous sont déclarés par les figures et prophéties données plusieurs siècles auparavant, notre foy prend fond et racine' […] Secondement ces figures affermissent notre espérance […]. Enfin, les figures enflamment l'amour envers Dieu en nous faisant contempler son éternelle charité'.

21   On this comparison see Dekoninck '*Ad imaginem*' 81.

At the end of the book, after the *impressum*, a final warning to the reader confirms the idea expressed both by the prologue and the organization of the volume, according to which the image is subordinated to the text:

> If there is something in the engraved pictures which does not correspond to the speaking pictures, the reader will compensate the defect of the pictures, if he pleases, by correcting it with the word of the text which he will follow in all as a better guide for the meaning of the story.[22]

It's by referring to this note that the editor of the English version of 1619 justified his decision not to reproduce the engravings, as he explains at length:

> [...] If eyther of them be excellent, there is no need of the other: and to joyne a Picture to the Description of a Picture, is in a sort to disgrace them both, and to show in effect, that they are both defective. (...) For these reasons therefore [...] I have altogether omitted those Printed Tables, being in truth no lesse defective than superfluous, in respect of their excellent Description, which of the two are farre the better Pictures.[23]

And it is again on the basis of the final 'warning to the reader', that Brémond expressed his negative judgment on the engravings illustrating Richeome's books, claiming that, although he worked with the best engravers of his time, 'they could never satisfy him':

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22   Richeome *Tableaux sacrez*: 'Avertissement au lecteur. S'il y a quelque chose ès tableaux gravés qui ne corresponde pas aux tableaux parlants, le lecteur suppléera le défaut de la peinture, s'il lui plaît, la corrigeant avec la parole du texte qu'il suivra en tout, comme meilleure guide du sens de l'histoire'. On this passage see Guiderdoni, *De la figure scripturaire* 113; Dekoninck, '*Ad Imaginem*' 78.

23   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* [n.p.]: '[...] When they were first printed, though no doubt they were done with great arte: yet were they so defective, not onely for want of colour, but also in respect to the worke it selfe, that the Printer was faine to excuse them in a Note to the Reader, remitting him thereby, for the better understanding of those stories presented in them, to the Authors Descriptions of those Painted Tables, which he faineth to have before the eyes of his Readers. Whereby it appeareth, that the printed Pictures came farre short of the Authors Descriptions: and therefore served to little purpose, not being able to expresse many of those things, which the Author describeth, as contained in them'.

He needed a Pinturrichio or a Gozzoli. Not having them, he compensates by inviting his readers to enrich of one thousand new lines, to colour mentally those impotent engravings.[24]

This judgment, which opposes the engraved image to a richer painting, itself echoes the "Epistle dedicatory to the Queen", where Richeome suggests that the engraved images should be transformed into richly colored tapestries specially designed for the Queen, whereas the common reader would only have access to the poorer engravings.[25] On several occasions, Richeome calls attention to the imperfection of the engravings, to their subordinate position in relation to the text, and to the hierarchical and evolutionary process whereby the text compensates for the deficiencies of the engravings, which are restricted to the literal sense. However, a detailed analysis of Mallery's engraving compels us to moderate this schema, revealing a certain tension between what the book states about its engravings and the exegetical scope of Mallery's engraved image. Mallery would seem to have gone far beyond Richeome's strict frame of reference.

Karel van Mallery's Visual Exegesis

The biblical episode of the *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* gave rise to a rich iconographic tradition that Karel van Mallery renewed and transformed in a way that reflects the central importance of the two Christian conceptions of vision and figure in Richeome's treatise. A brief survey of this visual tradition shows that some of the key features of this iconography come not from the

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24   Brémond, *Histoire littéraire* 34: 'Il lui aurait fallu un Pinturrichio ou un Gozzoli. Ne les ayant pas, il les supplée, invitant ses lecteurs à enrichir de mille nouveaux traits, à colorier mentalement ces gravures impuissantes'.

25   Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez*, fols. 6 recto & 8 verso: 'Dédicace à la Royne. Premièrement si elle commande qu'ils soyent tirez par la main ouvrière des Peintres de sa Majesté qui faisans courir le pinceau sur un fond de peinture avec une grave gentillesse d'invention, vivacité de couleurs & perfection d'ombrages & de pourfils, sçauront artistement naisver l'entre-jent [*sic*] d'une figure: & donner sentiment & paroles aux choses muettes. Ainsi pourtraicts ils vous serviront d'une devote et riche tapisserie pour tendre votre cabinet d'oraison, & representans à vos yeux la memoire de ces histoires sacres, diront a votre ame, sans sonner mot, les merveilles du Createur. [...] Telles & semblables pieces de haute lisse & de marche, tissuës d'or & de soye donneront du contentement à vos yeux: mais les tableaux susdicts luy apporteront outre le plaisir de la veuë, la cognoissance de la loy de Dieu pour instruction Chrestienne de l'ame & c'est leur usage premier'.

biblical text itself but from exegetical usage.[26] The text of *Genesis* 4:2–5 is itself very brief:

> In the course of the time, Cain brought some of the fruits of the soil as an offering to the Lord. And Abel also brought an offering—fat portions from some of the firstborn of his flock. The Lord looked with favor on Abel and his offering, but on Cain and his offering he did not look with favor.

The Church Fathers were the first to interpret Abel's offering accepted by God as a figure of the piety of the good Christian, and the first martyr as a prefiguration of Christ.[27] The most elaborate and influential exegesis of this episode, which firmly established the polarity opposing Abel and Cain, is chapter 15 of the *City of God*, where Augustine associates the celestial city to Abel's children and the earthly city to Cain's children.[28] A woodcut illustrating the edition published by Amerbach in Basel in 1545, shows Abel on the left, surrounded by angels, as the first inhabitant of the celestial city, and on the right, Cain in front of the earthly city, accompanied by demons. [Fig. 18.2] The refusal of Cain's offering and his crime of fratricide, the first murder in the history of humankind, made him a figure of the heretic or Jew opposed to Christians. He was called 'first born of the Devil' (Polycarp),[29] and Chrysologus states that 'Cain bringing his stubble found it to be tinder for himself, fuel through which he himself was to be set on fire'.[30] The stubble mentioned here—instead of the fruits described in the Bible—refers to the typological exegesis which early on associated Cain's sacrifice to Matthew's *Parable of the Cockle* (*Matthew* 13: 24–42). Atop the seeds of wheat planted by the husbandman, the Devil sows

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26 On the iconography of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, see Sanoner G., "Iconographie de la Bible d'après les artistes de l'antiquité et du moyen âge. Travaux de Cain et d'Abel", *Bulletin Monumental* 80 (1921) 227; Michel P.-H., "L'iconographie de Caïn et Abel", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale I, fasc. 2* (1958) 194–199; and Braude P., "'Cokkel in oure Clene Corn': Some Implications of Cain's Sacrifice", *Gesta* 7 (1968) 15–28. See also Shapiro M., "Cain's Jaw Bone that did the First Murder", *Art Bulletin* 25 (1942) 205–212; and Henderson G., "Cain's Jaw Bone", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 24 (1961) 108–114.

27 On Abel as the first martyr and an adumbration of Christ', see Basil, *Oratio IV*, in Migne, P.-G., *Patrologia Graeca. Vol. 85*, cols. 63–66.

28 Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei* XV.1.

29 Polycarp, *To the Philippians* VII.1, in Schoedel W. R. (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 5* (Camden: 1967) 22, as quoted in Braude, "Cokkel" 16.

30 Chrysologus, *Sermon 109*, in G. E. Ganss (ed.) *Saint Peter Chrysologus Selected Sermons. The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 17* (New York: 1962) 173, as quoted in Braude, "Cokkel" 17.

FIGURE 18.2   *Unknown artist*, Cain and Abel, *woodcut illustration from Augustinus de Ciutate
dei cum commento* (*Basel, Johannes von Amerbach: 1490*).
London, British Museum. Inv. N°1900.1019.3.

tares. But in the time of the harvest, as Christ relates, the good wheat shall be
separated from the weeds, to be stored in the garners of heaven, whereas the
latter shall be tied into bundles and burned, like all pestiferous interlopers, in
the fires of hell. The theme of the 'bundles for Heaven' and the 'bundles for
Hell'[31] provided a strong image widely exploited by the artists. A fourteenth-
century fresco in the nave of the Church of Räzüns (Switzerland), for instance,
illustrates clearly this fusion of the Old Testament episode with the evangelical
parable, by showing on the left an angel accepting Abel's 'bundle for Heaven',
while on the right Cain is urged by the Devil to throw his inverted bundle into
the fires of Hell (heretics were accused of inverting scriptural truth).[32]

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31   According to the expression of Chrysologus, for which see note 30.

32   On this image, see Braude, "Cokkel" 23, which also cites a contemporary English Psalter
      showing the Mouth of Hell, its flames rising toward Caïn (London, British Museum, Ms.
      Add. 38116, fol. 9 recto).

FIGURE 18.3   *Unknown artist*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *ca. 1160, detail. Watercolor on velum.*
London, Victoria & Albert Museum. Inv. N° 8982.

In her iconographic study of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Braude relates the 'iconographic explosion' of this episode in the visual arts between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, to the politics of expansion of the Church and to the persecution of Jews and heretics during this period.[33] But it is difficult to agree with her concluding observation that in the following centuries, this episode was 'either relegated to the background or entirely ignored'.[34] On the contrary, it seems that this theme continued to be explored by artists, although an important iconographic change took place at the turn of the sixteenth century. Until then, pictures generally portray the sacrifice as an offering made directly to God, whose approbation is often visualised by a hand coming down from a cloud and blessing Abel. [Fig. 18.3] In the course of the sixteenth century, however, artists gradually replaced the presentation of offerings to God with a pictorial device that signifies in a more indirect but equally effective way God's

33   Ibidem 15–25.
34   Ibidem 26.

approval or disapproval: they focus instead on the smoke of the sacrifice. It ascends heavenward from Abel's sacrifice while falling earthward from Cain's altar. The smoke of sacrifice derives from the exegetical tradition and is not mentioned in the biblical text.[35] It was first used by Saint Cyprian in one of his sermons (mentioned by Richeome in a marginal gloss to his ekphrasis).[36] Sixteenth-century artists, from the Monogrammist M.S. to Maarten van Heemskerck incorporated and elaborated upon this motif, using it to give a strong dramatic force to the scene. [Fig. 18.4] Heemskerck creates a visual rhyme between the curling smoke of Abel's sacrifice and the clouds surrounding the all-seeing and yet unseen God, and conversely, between the smoke of Cain's sacrifice and the falling body of Abel. [Fig. 18.5] In Etienne Delaune's version, birds rushing into the flames of Cain's sacrifice seem to transform into birds of fire, while curls of smoke appear to spout from Cain's mouth, as if the infernal fire were already devouring him from within. [Fig. 18.6] In a later drawing by Johannes Wierix, the smoke ascending from Abel's sacrifice and descending from Cain's visualizes the theme of the two paths leading to heaven or hell, which exegetes since Augustine have associated with this biblical episode.[37] In Wierix's drawing, the smoke of the bad sacrifice encircling Cain clearly foreshadows the infernal flames that await him. In Simon Novellanus's version, a dead tree juxtaposed to a green tree, a common motif from Netherlandish art of the period, underscores the antithetical motif of the sacrificial smoke. [Fig. 18.7] Novellanus, like other artists, associates the scene of sacrifice with two collateral scenes, the murder of Abel and the judgment of Cain, upon whom God casts his divine gaze. The broken tree trunk close to Abel's body echoes his right leg: the brutal break visually amplifies the impression of broken life and violent murder. Its counterpoint is the green tree trunk overgrown by ivy, a common symbol of eternal life in contemporary emblem books. A second visual analogy connects the broken tree with the smoke of Cain's sacrifice, whereas the green tree linking Abel's head and the figure of God, correlates to the rising column of smoke.

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35   On this theme, see Scheiber A., "La fumée des offrandes de Caïn et Abel. Histoire d'une légende", *Revue des Études Juives* 115 (1956) 9–24; idem, "A Remark on the Legend of the Sacrificial Smoke of Cain and Abel", *Vigiliae Christianae* 10. 3 (1956) 194–195; and Hovingh P. F., "La fumée du sacrifice de Caïn et d'Abel et l'Alethia de Claudius Marius Victorius", *Vigiliae Christianae* 10.1 (1956) 43–48.

36   Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez* 60.

37   Johannes Wierix's *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* is one of nineteen illustrations to Genesis executed between 1564–1615 (London, British Museum, No. 1848.0212.99: pen and brown ink on vellum, 9.4 × 12.2 cm.).

FIGURE 18.4   *Monnogrammist* MS, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *woodcut illustration from Hans Lufft's Luther Bible* (*Wittenberg: 1534*). *10.8 cm × 14.7 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1895.0420.224.*

FIGURE 18.5   *Harmen Jansz. Müller, after Maarteen van Heemskerck,* The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *1566. Engraving, 21 × 14.7 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1949.0709.13.*

FIGURE 18.6   *Étienne Delaune*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *ca. 1550–1572. Engraving,*
                 5.2 × 7.4 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°Gg.4D.11–12.

FIGURE 18.7   *Simon Novelanus*, Cain and Abel. *Etching, 21.1 × 29.3 cm. Rijksmuseum,*
                 Prentenkabinet. Inv. N°RP.P.1886.A.11021.

Karel van Mallery's *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* is an epitome of the iconographic device centering on the motif of sacrificial smoke. [Fig. 18.1] Mallery (1571–1635), who was the pupil and son-in-law of Philips Galle, worked with the Wierix brothers on the engravings for Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*. His *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* reflects his relations with another major Antwerp dynasty of engravers—the Sadelers. Jan Sadeler's engraving after Michiel Coxcie was the first to show the piercing rays of divine light (as mentioned by Cyprian's exegesis, which refers to fiery beams) that are also present in Mallery's version.[38] [Fig. 18.8] This detail is also present in Jan Sadeler's engraving of 1583 after Maerten de Vos. [Fig. 18.9] Mallery directly adapted this model, transforming it in significant ways. [Fig. 18.1] He changed Sadeler's vast horizontal landscape (with adjacent scenes depicting Adam and Eve) into a vertical composition focusing on the scene of the sacrifice. Mallery stressed the contrast between the rising and falling smoke of the two offerings. Cain's face and pose are relatively similar, but the most radical change concerns Abel. In Sadeler's version, he is kneeling, hands clapsed in prayer, eyes half-closed; Mallery depicts him with arms outstretched, head upright, eyes wide open and looking heavenward. [Fig. 18.10] His prayerful attitude is replaced by a visionary one, of a type often seen in printed images of Saints Eustace, Gregory, and Francis, where they are shown rapt before an apparition of Christ on the cross. [Fig. 18.11] A major transformation of Mallery's engraving consisted in merging the Old Testament figure of Abel with the post-biblical figure of a visionary saint in an attitude of ecstatic conformation to Christ. Mallery interprets in a new way the typological relation between the biblical protagonist and Christ, as he is bodied forth through the enacted *imitatio Christi* of Eustace, Gregory, or Francis. As in the depictions of Saint Francis's conformation to Christ on the cross, Abel's gaze and outstretched arms designate him as a prefiguration of the sacrificial Christ. Another striking aspect of this iconographic transformation is the symmetrical relation between Abel's gaze and that of God. This relation points up the theme of vision. Abel looks straight at the Lord, but the barrier of smoke and clouds comes between them. The visual device of the tiny dotted line, used to depict God, and the intervening veil of smoke imply that the Lord must be seen spiritually not corporeally, that is, by means of the *visio Dei*. Abel's desire to see God encounters the impossibility of seeing him bodily, and this impossibility constitutes a 'veiled' allusion to the

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38   See Grieken J. Van, "Publish or Perish: Michiel Coxcie in Print", in Jonckheere K. (ed.), *Michiel Coxcie, 1499–192, and the Giants of his Age* [exh. cat., Museum M, Leuven] (London – Turnhout: 2013) 156–183, esp. 178–179.

FIGURE 18.8   *Jan Sadeler, after Michiel Coxcie*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *1576.*
                Engraving, 20.6 × 28 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1937.0915.439.

FIGURE 18.9   *Jan Sadeler, after Maerten de Vos*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, *1583.*
                Engraving, 20.2 × 26 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1937.0915.42.

mystery of the Incarnation, when as Christ Jesus, God will become visible to human eyes.

Mallery also altered the motif of smoke. In Sadeler's version after Maerten de Vos, the smoke rising from Abel's sacrifice merges with the mandorla around God, but the appearance of the columns of smoke remains quite chaotic. [Fig. 18.9] The smoke remains relatively formless in the first of the two versions engraved by Karel van Mallery. They are nearly identical, except for the motif of smoke, which is reworked, along with a few other details, in the version used for the 1601 edition of the *Tableaux sacrez*. [Fig. 18.1] The mandorla of clouds encircling God and the column of smoke are now clearly separated, as a result of the lightning-like bolts of divine light directed at Abel. Most important is the new visual effect generated by the contact between the divine light and sacrificial smoke. The mass of smoke is more condensed, its constituent elements more delineated, its contours more precisely demarcated. At the point of contact between the celestial 'fire' and the earthly smoke, vertical and horizontal forms appear to cross; or, to be more precise, the meeting of vertical and horizontal masses produces the image of a cross. One might go even further, discerning a *figure* in the smoke seen by Abel's raised eyes. Indeed, when one pays close attention to the strange and precisely hatched spirals of smoke, one recognizes not only the form of a cross but also the 'virtual figure' of the crucified. [Fig. 18.10]

The devout reader-spectator is invited to exercise his imagination and his capacities of analogical recognition, to see in the smoke a formal resemblance to the body of Christ on the cross as seen in profile, with arms foreshortened and head bent (the latter corresponding to a cloud coincident with Abel's line of sight). The appearance of the crucified Christ in the smoke of the sacrifice refers to the notion that the *figura* can take the form of a concrete object, a material event, but it also implies the displacement and the virtuality that define the Christian notion of figure.[39] Accordingly, the smoky *figura Christi* neither directly nor altogether legibly represents the anthropomorphic figure of the incarnate God. It supplies an uncertain image, between figure and 'dis-figure', an image that operates virtually, which is to say, inchoately, incipiently, embryonically. As 'potential image' (to use Dario Gamboni's expression),[40] it oscillates between the intention of the engraver and the

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39   See Auerbach E., "Figura", in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays,* trans. R. Manheim (New York: 1959) 55–93.

40   On images that 'depend on the onlooker's state of mind and come fully into being, in conformity with the artist's intentions, only through the participation of the onlooker', see Gamboni D., *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art* (London: 2002) 9.

FIGURE 18.10   *Karel van Mallery*, The Sacrifice of Cain
                and Abel, *engraved illustration from Louis
                Richeome*, Les tableaux sacrez (*Paris,
                Sonnius: 1601*). Detail, Abel.

attention of the beholder. The vaporous appearance of Christ in the clouds is
addressed not only to Abel, but also to the viewer of the image, who is thereby
invited to interpret the Old Testament event as a prefiguration of the New. The
smoky image thus encompasses various meanings of the 'figure', functioning
like a node that connects Abel, God, Christ and the lamb of sacrifice being
burned upon the altar. Bound up in this image are both shadow and fulfillment,

FIGURE 18.11   *Hieronymus Wierix*, Saint Francis before the Crucified
                Christ. *Engraving, 9.8 × 6.9 cm. London, British Museum.*
                Inv. N°1877.0811.1133.

type and antitype, Abel and Christ, the latter appearing only as virtual *figure*,
that is, under the displaced and enigmatic modality of a double or potential
image. The image in the smoke suggests one of the meanings of the figure
enumerated by Auerbach: the shadow, ghost, or apparition of uncertainty that
generates, as Auerbach shows, the exegetical meaning by way of an analogical
transfer—as the shadow refers to the body, so the figure is the shadow refers
to the truth.[41]

41   Auerbach, *Scenes* 17.

FIGURE 18.12   *Karel van Mallery*, The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel,
                engraved illustration from Louis Richeome, Les tableaux
                sacrez (*Paris, Sonnius: 1601*). *Detail Cain.*

It also behooves us to consider carefully the elaborate contortions of smoke
encircling Cain, whose face is distorted by anger. [Fig. 18.12] Unlike the ver-
sions by Novellanus or Sadeler, Mallery's Cain is isolated, as if trapped in a dark
zone clearly separated from the landscape by the compact mass of sheaves
below and smoke above. Compared to the informal voltes of Sadeler's ver-
sion, the drawing here is much more precise; serpentine forms intermix with
tiny flying devils who indicate the infernal nature of the smoke. In opposition
to Abel's vertical smoke that bridges the divine and terrestrial zones, the smoke
of Cain's sacrifice contracts, folds in upon itself, wrinkles into curves and coun-
ter curves. One can also recognize in the hellish smoke the potential image of a

negative and disturbing counterpart to the one at left: a devilish face emerges from the thick smoky clouds. The curls at the level of Cain's arm clearly evoke a mouth with thick lips, two spirals of smoke above Cain's elbow suggest a nose with large nostrils, and two black winged imps evoke the expressive eyes of this emergent visage. A small devil and an angel are placed adjacent to Cain and Abel's heads, stressing the polarity between the two brothers and suggesting the influence of misleading illusion on the one side, access to the spiritual discernment on the other.[42] These contrasting images can be related to the Christian opposition between human unlikeness to God the creator, a consequence of original sin, and the likeness to God embodied or, better, visualised by the virtuous Abel is seen to face the anthropomorphic or Christomorphic smoke.[43]

The Double Image

Clouds and smoke are traditional iconographic devices used to represent both the manifestation of the divine and the gap between earthly and celestial space.[44] Clouds in the Bible hide the divine face which human beings are not allowed directly to behold, but they are also the vehicle of theophany.[45] Artists have long exploited the plastic and symbolic device of clouds or smoke to evoke the presence of the sacred, as well as to underscore its separation from the merely human. Due to their dynamic and metamorphic nature, clouds and smoke have been privileged sources of double or potential images. Some pictures incorporate both uses of the cloud: as barrier-vehicle of theophanies and as source of apparitional images. In Melchior Meier's *Resurrection of Christ* of 1577, for instance, winged putti form an ambiguous cloudy mandorla in the

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42   The same motifs appear in two of Mallery's engravings for Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1593): plate 21 (*Ash Wednesday 1. Fasting*) and plate 22 (*Ash Wednesday 2. Laying up Riches*). An imp and a small angel are placed adjacent to the heads of two opposite characters personifying Hypocrisy and Fast (plate 21) or Greed and Piety (plate 22). The latter contemplates God appearing in a mandorla of clouds, whereas halfway Christ appears on Mount Thabor. Mallery's *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel* relates thus directly to this previous composition.

43   On the idea of conformation to Christ, see Careri C., *La torpeur des ancêtres. Juifs et chrétiens dans la chapelle Sixtine* (Paris: 2013) 21–99.

44   On this topic, see in particular Damisch H., *A Theory of /Cloud/: Toward a History of Painting*, trans. J. Lloyd (Stanford: 2002); and Stoichita V., *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: 1997) 84–89.

45   Ibidem.

upper part of the sky, above the thick cloud that both reveals and conceals the theophany. More surprising are the two arms emerging from either side of the anthropomorphic cloud, while a torso and a head appear below Christ's foot. [Fig. 18.13] Such a double use of the cloud remains rare, however, and at any event, one should generally distinguish divine appearances that hover *over* clouds or sacrificial smoke, from appearances embedded *within* clouds, such as the famous figures within clouds by Giotto, Mantegna, and Signorelli.[46] The latter are connected with the tradition, codified by the ancients, of discovering 'natural' or 'accidental images' in the things of nature, which at the time of Mallery and Richeome aroused the interest of the Jesuits and would later occupy Athanasius Kircher and Alonso de Ovalle.[47] Two points are worth mentioning here. The first is the anthropomorphic character of the majority of natural or accidental images, which were often playfully invoked when analogizing macrocosm and microcosm. The second is the change that took place during the early modern period, when this phenomenon known and described since Pliny, was Christianized: Sileni, heads of Medusa, Apollo and his muses (each with their instrument, according to Pliny) found in the stones or marbles of Paros are replaced by saints, the Madonna and child and Christ on the cross. Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Museum metallicum* (1648) and Athanasius Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus* (1665) give numerous examples of such wonders. [Figs. 18.14 & 18.15] Another Jesuit, Alonso de Ovalle, described in his *Historical Account of the Kingdom of Chile* (1646) several similar examples of natural images, among which an appearance of the Crucifixion on the trunk and branches of a laurel that led to the conversion of the Indians of Limache. [Fig. 18.16] The author emphasizes the purity of these images made 'by the hands of nature' and the corresponding purity of vision and fervent conversion of the natives who were the first to recognize them.[48] The figures of hermits,

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46   On these examples, see Damisch *A Theory of /Cloud/* 32–35; Lebensztejn J.-C., *L'art de la tache. Introduction à la nouvelle méthode d'Alexander Cozens* (Paris: 1990) 95–116; Campbell S., *Cosme Tura of Ferrara* (New Haven & London: 1998) 131–161; Gamboni *Potential Images* 27–28; and Weemans M. – Gamboni G. – Martin J.-H. (eds.), *Cent images doubles et paradoxales* (Paris: 2014), forthcoming.

47   On the 'accidental image' in the early modern period, see in particular Baltrusaïtis J., *Aberrations: An Essay on the Legend of Forms* (Cambridge: 1989); Janson H. W., "The Image Made by Chance in Renaissance Thought", in Meiss M. (ed.), *De artibus opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York: 1961) 254–266; Gamboni, *Potential Images* 16–1; and Weemans, *Herri met de Bles* 171–202. On Kircher and Ovalle, see San Juan R.-M., *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel* (Manchester: 2011) 41–49, 185–191.

48   Ibidem 47.

FIGURE 18.13   *Melchior Meier*, The Resurrection, *1577. Engraving, 18.9 × 12.5 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1871.1209.510.*
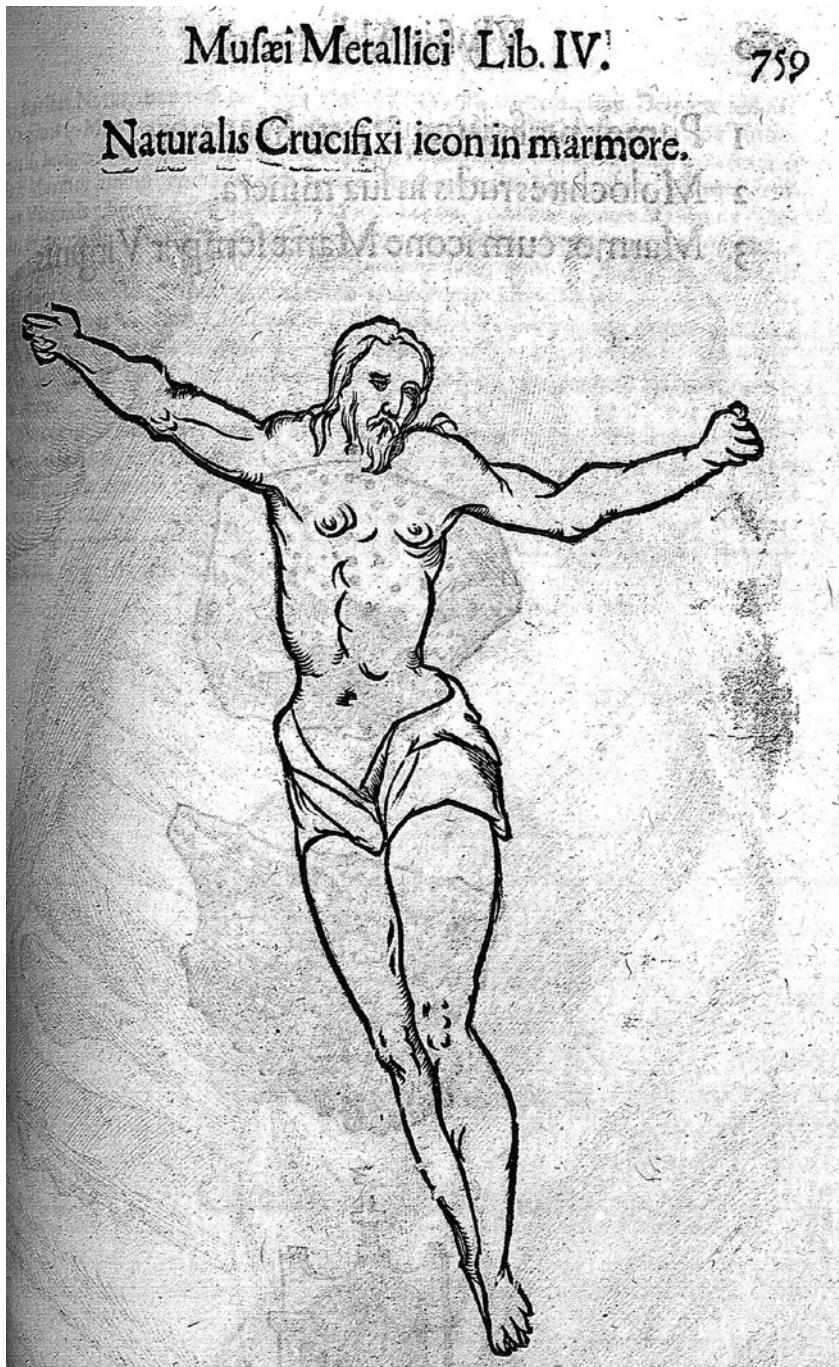
FIGURE 18.14 *Ulisse Aldrovandi,* Naturalis Crucifixi Icon in Marmore, *engraved illustration from* Musaeum Metallicum (*Bologna, Bartholomaeus Ambrosinus: 1648*) *vol. 4, fol. 759.*
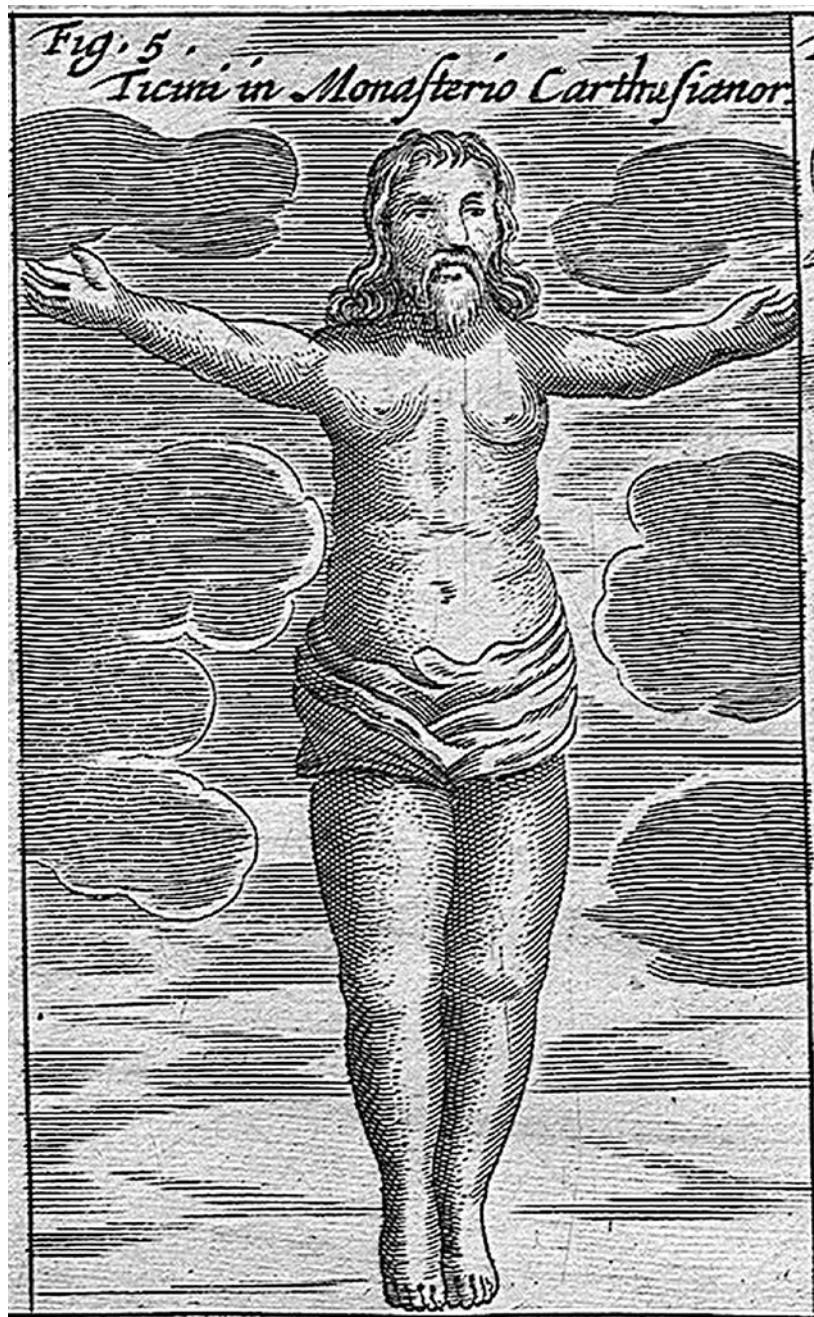
FIGURE 18.15 *Athanasius Kircher,* Crucified Christ in a Stone, *engraved illustration from* Mundus Subterraneus (*Amsterdam, Joannem Janssonium: 1665*) *vol. 2, p. 36.*
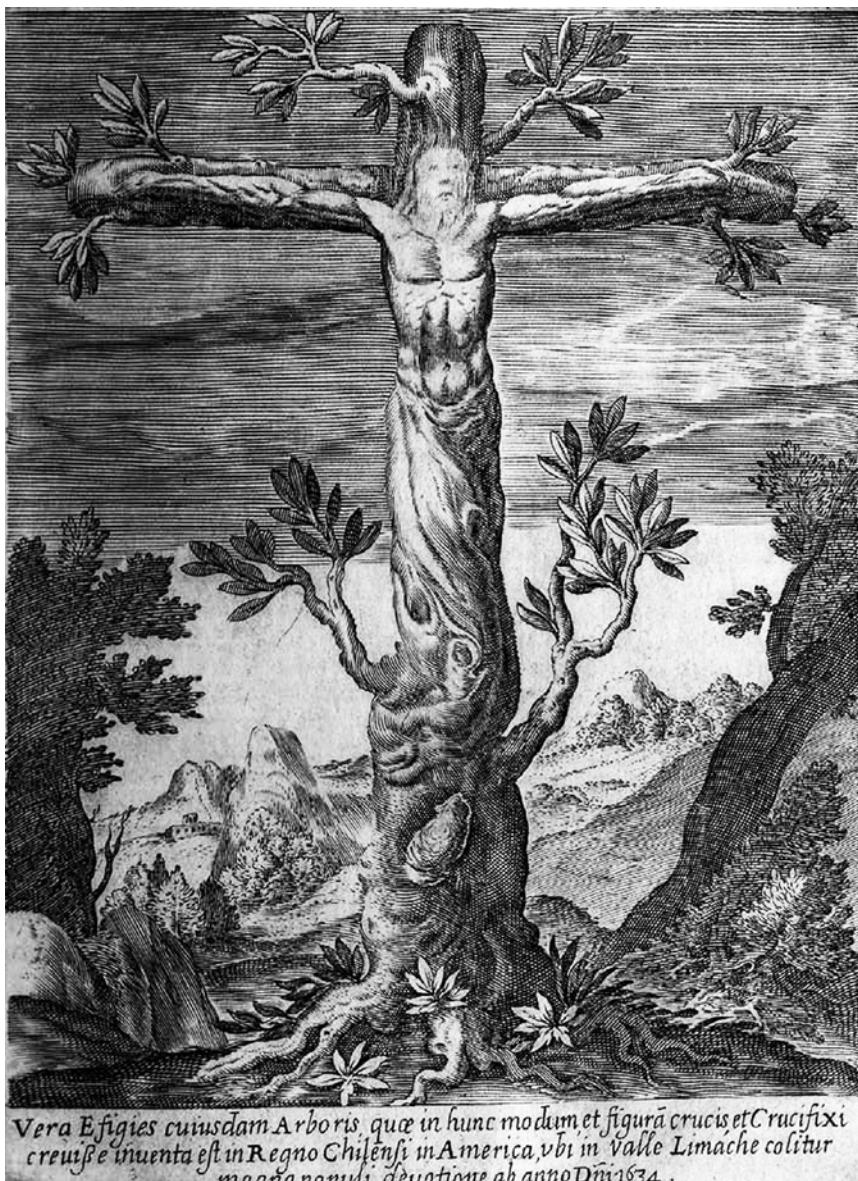
Vera Efigies cuiusdam Arboris, quæ in hunc modum et figurā crucis etCrucifixi
creuiß e inuenta eft in Regno Chilenfi in America, vbi in Valle Limache colitur
magna populi deuotione ab anno Dñi 1634.

FIGURE 18.16   *Unknown artist,* The Tree of Limache, *engraved illustration from Alonso de
                Ovalle,* Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile (*Roma, Francisco Caballo: 1646*).

Virgin or Christ appearing in stones are immediately recognizable, and in this respect they are quite different from Mallery's engraving, which engages with the idea of the potential image. But perhaps a more nuanced opposition is required. As recently pointed out by Rose Marie San Juan, Athanasius Kircher cites examples of images in clouds that are subject to a process of formation and deformation requiring the viewer's keen observation and active participation.[49] Kircher also describes a marbled crucifixion (part of the main altar of St. Sebastian's in Rome) as an image in the making, and he insists that the cross emerges from the veined stone that itself resembles a background of sky and clouds.[50] A few years later, the Jesuit Father Claude-François Menestrier, in his *Art of Emblems* (1662), confirms this conception when he relates natural images to the human imagination and its capacity of projection, more than to the inscription of natural or divine hieroglyphs in the book of nature.[51] Nonetheless, miraculous images of Christ in rocks or clouds would long remain the object of speculation and visual representation, as evidenced by such later examples as Louis de Silvestre's *Christ on the Cross Appearing in Clouds* of 1734.[52] [Fig. 18.17]

Clouds and smoke were traditional visual instruments of divine manifestation, but smoke was also the place of hallucinatory or devilish apparitions.

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49   This observation is developed by Kircher in the subsection of his *Ars Magna* on the *campus anthropomorphus*. On this specimen, see San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors* 41–44; and Weemans, *Herri met de Bles* 171–172.

50   San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors* 42–49.

51   Ménestrier C.-F., *L'Art des emblèmes où s'enseigne la morale par les figures de la fable, de l'histoire & de la nature* (Lyon, Benoist: 1662) 2–3: 'Le ciel est plein de figures et de crotesques, depuis que nos poètes et nos Astrologues y ont attaché des images de fantaisie […] Il n'est pas jusques aux nuës quelques grossières qu'elles soient, qui ne servent de table d'attente au soleil. Ce grand ouvrier y fait de la pointe de ses rayons des armées et des combats; il y mêle les jours & les ombres avec tant de succèz qu'il s'y fait des couronnes et des arcs de triomphe […] Si nous descendons du ciel en terre, qu'y verrons-nous que des images?' On this passage, see Dekoninck, '*Ad Imaginem*' 89.

52   Dresden, Staatliche Kunstammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister: oil on canvas, 73 cm. × 52 cm. This painting is the sketch for a larger painting in Moritzburg Castle, Germany, which bears the following inscription aimed testifying to the veracity and accuracy of the image: 'Ce que l'on voit dans ce tableau, représentant un Christ en Croix formé par des nuées au milieu d'un ciel bleu, a esté vü au ciel du costé du soleil couchant à la vigne Rotschberg à six heures un quart du soir le 19 may 1734. Sa durée parfaite a esté d'un quart d'heure. Les spectateurs étaient: Mr l'abbé Pirenne, Mr Bildstein le fils et son valet, Mr Favrier, (…) les vigneronnes et le jardinier, Md. Sylvestre et ses deux filles et moi, Louis Sylvestre qui l'ayt peint tel que l'on voit ici. Les personnes cy-dessus nommées dont la plupart l'ont vu peindre sont convenues d'une parfaite ressemblance autant que l'art peut représenter une chose aussi admirable et extraordinaire'.

FIGURE 18.17   *Louis de Silvestre*, Christ on the Cross in Clouds, *1734. Oil on canvas,*
73 × 52 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie.

Spectral appearances are to be found in Jacob de Gheyn's (1565–1629) witches'
sabbaths and devilish scenes with infernal fires and smoke.[53] [Fig. 18.18]
In Matthaeus Küssel's *Mouth of Hell*, not only do numerous faces appear in

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53   See for instance, *Scene of a Witches' Sabbath*, in the Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 62.196,
        Reproduced in Regteren Altena J. Q. van, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations,* 2 vols.
        (London-Boston: 1983), no. 524.

puffs of smoke, but the whole *boca inferna* becomes indistinguishable from the smoke and flames. [Fig. 18.19] Seventeenth-century artists who utilized smoke to evoke the idea of the demonic world prone to chaos and misleading appearances renew the tradition of the Boschian painters of the mid-sixteenth century—Jan Mandijn, Pieter Huys and Herri met de Bles—who explored the potential of the double image.[54] I have stressed elsewhere the importance of the pictorial phenomenon of double or potential images in Bles's exegetical landscapes, and in particular, their complex relation to the sacred protagonists whose various states of vision, from spiritual insight to blindness, they serve to exemplify.[55] In that context I emphasized the dynamics of conversion upon which the exegetical image plays, and called attention to the primary function of Bles's double images as operators of optical and semantic conversion. In fact, double images can be seen to offer a visual equivalent to the forms of incongruity and enigmas that exegetes such as Origen and Augustine considered decisively important, and which in Bles's time, Erasmus construed as instances of 'holy cunning'.[56] The attention placed on pictorial effects of displacement and ambiguity, on seemingly secondary details, reveals relations of analogy between overlooked or apparently distinct elements that prove upon closer inspection to be significantly woven into a continuous fabric of exegetical interpretation. In many ways, Karel van Mallery's anthropomorphic smoke belongs to this tradition of double images and fulfills an exegetical function that makes it comparable to Bles's pictures.

The Triple Image

We can observe a widening gap between what Richeome's text claims and what Mallery's engraving depicts.[57] Far from being restricted to a narrative and

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54   On double images, see Gamboni, *Potential Images;* idem, "Voir double"; Weemans M., *Herri met de Bes. Les ruses du paysage au temps de Bruegel et d'Erasme* (Paris: 2013) 149–295; Thürlemann F., "L'aquarelle de Dürer (*fenedier klawsen*): la double mimesis dans l'analyse picturale d'un lieu géographique", *Revue de l'Art* 137 (2002) 9–18; and Falkenburg R. L., *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: 2011).

55   See Weemans, *Herri met de Bles* 149–295.

56   Ibidem 46.

57   In the foreword containing his theory of the figure, Richeome tends to restrict the engraved image (first painting or figure) and the ekphrasis (second figure) to the literal sense, whereas only the 'exposition' (third figure) reveals the mystical sense. In practice, this procedure proves to be more complex, since the text of the ekphrasis is already informed by typological and allegorical meanings that are themselves present in the

FIGURE 18.18   *Jacob de Gheyn II*, Vision of Ezekiel, *1613. Pen and bistre on paper, 17.9 × 23.5 cm.*
                Victoria & Albert Museum. Inv. N°Dyce 503.

literal illustration, Mallery's engraving visualises a more complex interpreta-
tion of the biblical episode while effecting a radical transformation of its icon-
ographic model. Mallery's alteration of Sadeler's model is fourfold: he makes
the composition more vertical, centering it on the scene of the sacrifice; he
introduces a stronger polarity between Abel and Cain, connecting the former
to heaven, the latter to hell; he adjusts the attitude of Abel, likening him more
to an ecstatic visionary than to a meditative votary; and he treats the smoke
as a metamorphic medium. The smoke becomes the most 'striking element'

engraved image. The ekphrasis mentions the divine 'fire' (quoting Cyprien's exegesis in a
marginal gloss), as well as the 'sheaves of straw' that refer to typological exegesis by way of
Matthew's parable. Richeome also calls Abel the first member of the City of God, and he
draws a typological parallel between his sacrifice and that of the Messiah. He then adds
another marginal comment: 'Figure de la croix' (Figure of the cross) (Richeome, *Tableaux
sacrez* 53). Karel van Mallery's smoky figure of the cross can be seen as a visual echo of
Richeome's marginal gloss.

FIGURE 18.19   *Matthaeus Küssel, after Lodovico Burnacini*, Mouth of Hell, *1668. Etching, 24.9 × 42.2 cm. London, British Museum. Inv. N°1891.0414.125.*

in the image.[58] Its dynamic and intermediatry quality confers on the smoke the identity of a 'figure', whose meaning issues from the connections it mediates between various elements—the material and the abstract, the earthly and the celestial, the Old Testament and the New. The virtual figure that appears in the sacrificial smoke is not simply the representation of a vision addressed by God to Abel. By virtue of its status as a potential image, the smoky vision is also addressed to the external beholder, whom it implicitly exhorts to interpret the picture as a whole, by penetrating beyond the surface of the historical or literal meaning. The distinctions at issue are discovered not by construing the image as a conveyor of the literal meaning of the biblical episode, in relation to scriptural and exegetical texts that convey the spiritual meaning. Rather, one is compelled to explore various registers of meaning anchored in the visual image: first, by investigating its literal or historical sense, and then, by seizing upon the analogies and figurative devices that pass beyond the literal meaning into the spiritual.

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58   Analyzing a dream in which a 'striking element' is a nodal point (of condensation), Freud, in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, quotes Goethe's *Faust*, stating: 'Here we find ourselves in a factory of thought where, as in the weaver's masterpiece, "a thousand threads one treadle throws" '. See Freud S., *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. J. Stratchey (New York: 1955) 301.

I mentioned above the "Epistle Dedicatory to the Queen", in which Richeome recommends that tapestries, more richly ornamented than the engravings, be woven from them:

> Such high warp Tapestries made of silk and gold will give satisfaction to your eyes: but in addition to the pleasure of the sight these Tables will bring the knowledge of the law of God for the Christian instruction of the soul, & such is their first use.[59]

He then suggests that these tapestries be themselves transformed—from narrative tapestries adressed to the eyes of the body, to spiritual tapestries shaped by the soul and addressed to the inner eyes:

> The soul will make a spiritual tapestry of several objects, in order to have them always in front of the eyes, bringing back the old figure to the new sacrament; and by the ease of this report, will rise in the admiration & love of God.[60]

The transformation of the material tapestry into a spiritual tapestry is itself the last stage in a tripartite conception of the image that Richeome formulates in the dedicatory epistle. The pictures made by the author in collaboration with the engravers, he explains, are themselves the copies of original pictures whose author is Christ:

> The invention and fabric of these pictures are not mine, I have done nothing but add a bit of language: the invention comes from the Son of God who formerly drew the features and contours [as if] on a sheet, obtaining them from the Law of Nature (such are the four first Pictures) or from the Old Testament (such are the next seven Pictures) & having become man,

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59   Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez*, fol. 8 recto: 'Telles & semblables pieces de haute lisse & de marche, tissuës d'or & de soye donneront du contentement à vos yeux: mais les tableaux susdicts luy apporteront outre le plaisir de la veuë, la cognoissance de la loy de Dieu pour instruction Chrestienne de l'ame & c'est leur usage premier'. The long [28 pages] dedicatory epistle [*Dedicace a la Royne*, fol. 1 recto to fol. 14 recto, placed between the title page and the prologue in the French edition], is reduced in the English edition to a one page and half summary: 'Brief extract out of the Author's Epistle Dedicatory to the Queene of France'. The translation of these two passages is mine.

60   Ibidem, fols. 8 verso–9 recto: 'L'ame en fera une tapisserie spirituelle de plusieurs obiects, pour les avoir toujours devant les yeux, rapportant la figure ancienne au sacrement nouveau; & par l'aise de ce rapport, s'eslevera en l'admiration & en l'amour de son Dieu'.

penciled the two penultimates, and finalized this one as well as that one. […] He added vivid colors to the old and previous picture, embellished all the parts of the drawing formerly made, gave body to the shade, life to the body, and soul to the dumb figure.[61]

Firstly, explains Richeome, Christ *pictor* completes the painting of the Old Testament ('added vivid colors', 'embellished the drawing'). Secondly, the *Holy Pictures* repeat, as derivative paintings, the original divine pictures. Lastly, the material tapestry is transformed into a spiritual tapestry intended for the contemplation of the soul. Three paintings are thus successively made by Christ, Richeome and the engravers, and finally the devotee (also described as 'painter' in contemporary treatises or depicted in engravings as a painter at his easel).[62] The tripartite conception of the picture elaborated in the dedicatory epistle announces Richeome's conception of the threefold figures comprised by the Holy Picture, which Richeome designates in his prologue as 'triple picture'.[63] The best way to 'taste the fruit and delicatenesse of this divine

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61   Ibidem, fol. 6 a–6 b: 'L'invention & l'estofe de ces tableaux n'est pas mienne, ie n'y ay qu'un peu de langage: elle est du Fils de Dieu qui iadis en a tiré les lineaments & pourfils sur la membrane, ou de la loy de nature (comme sont les quatre premiers) ou de son vieil Testament (comme sont les sept d'apres) & s'estant faict homme, il a crayonné les deux penultiesmes, & parachevé tant ceux-ci que ceux-là […] il a mis les vives couleurs sur la vieille & precedente peinture, embelli toutes les parties du dessein jadis faict, donné corps à l'ombre, vie au corps, et ame a la figure muette'.

62   On meditation as the act of painting and the soul as painter, particularly in treatises by Jan David, Antoine Sucquet and Louis Richeome, see in particular Dekoninck R., "La métaphore picturale et sculpturale dans la spiritualité du XVIIᵉ siècle", in B. Papasogli (ed.) *La meditazione nella prime eta moderna, Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* (2006) 665–694; Melion W., "Ad contemplationis aciem ('Toward Keen-Sighted Contemplation'): The Image of the Picturing Soul in Antonius Sucquet's Via vitae aeterne of 1620", in *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009) 153–187; and Melion W. – Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni A. (eds), *'Ut pictura meditatio': The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500–1700* (Turnhout: 2012).

63   Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez* 6–7: 'Et en ceste façon nous avons comprins quatre sortes d'expositions, & trois sortes de peintures pour enseigner avec fruict & plaisir, le plus grand mystere de nostre religion […] ie ne vois pas en quelle maniere on puisse plus profitablement, viuement, & delicieusement enseigner les vertus, les fruicts & les delices de ce diuin & sacré mets du corps du Fils de Dieu, qu'auec les susdites expositions, & auec l'air de ceste peinture triple, de pinceau, de parole, & de signification'. Idem, *Holy Pictures* 4: 'I see not in what manner one can more profitably, lively and delitiously teach the vertues, the fruits, and the delicatenesse of this divine and holly meate, of the

and holly meate', he states, lies in the third figure which delivers the mystical meaning. But this is only possible, he adds, through the combined action of the previous two in conjunction with the third.[64] One can best understand the idea of triple picture and the allusion to tapestry (and the work of weaving which the soul is supposed to accomplish) as expressing, better than the term picture, the complex process of manufacture (both textual and visual) by which the author and his engravers construct meaning, a process ultimately completed by the devotee during his meditation.[65] If the expression triple picture designates the three components of the Holy Pictures, it also refers to the transformative operation that leads to the creation of a new image: an interior or mental image which, far from being independent, remains closely related to the textual and iconic support whence it proceeds.[66] It is within this conception of the image that Mallery's anthropomorphic smoke proves decisive: as an operator of conversion, an intermediate figure that negotiates between the old covenant and the new, between the material and the spiritual, Mallery's double image actively participates in the dynamic function of Richeome's triple image.

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body of the Sonne of God, than with the above named Expositions, and with this triple picture of the pencell of the Word and of the the signification'.

64   Richeome, *Holy Pictures* 4: 'Notwithstanding in displaying the volume of these figures, we have served ourselves of the other two kindes of Pictures, that is to say of the Dumb Picture in the printed figures themselves, and of the Speaking Picture, in our descriptions or declarations of them'. Idem, *Tableaux sacrez* 5–6: Neantmoins en desployant le volume de ces figures, nous avons usés de l'entremise de toutes les autres peintures, de la première, aux tableaux gravez, esquels est couchée la peinture muette, de la seconde, en l'explication literale desdicts tableaux, donnée de parole'. The expressions 'entremise' (the English version omits this French term meaning a mediating action that aims at the accomplishment of a thing or event), 'triple picture' and the metaphor of tapestry contribute together to the dynamic conception of the image and the principle of conversion that underline Richeome's *Holy Pictures.*

65   On Richeome's 'triple image' as a complex dialectic between the text of the author, the engraved image and the imagination of the reader-spectator, see Cousinié, *Images et méditation* 87–90; 104–105; and Siguret, *La Triple Peinture des Tableaux sacrés* 195–210.

66   See Cousinié, *Images et méditation* 89–90.

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